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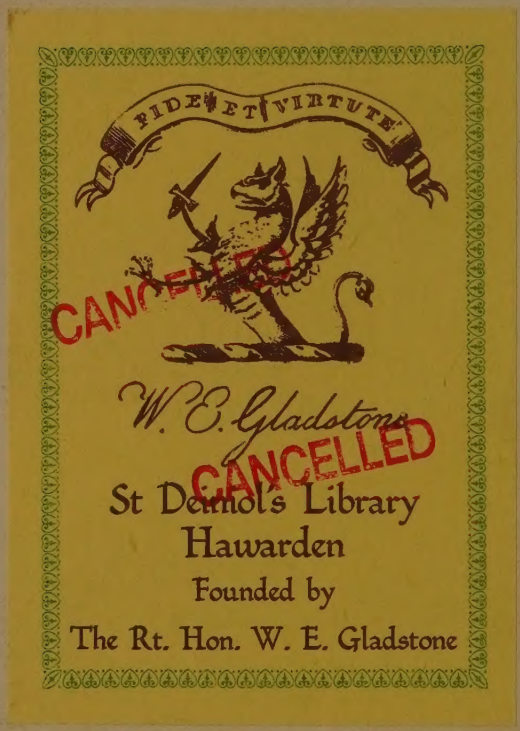
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JERUSALEM

1920—1922

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Masons at work on the East Tower of the Citadel.

No. 22.

JERUSALEM

1920—1922

Being the Records of the Pro-Jerusalem Council during the First Two Years of the Civil Administration

EDITED FOR THE COUNCIL OF THE PRO-JERUSALEM SOCIETY
BY C. R. ASHBEE, M.A.
FELLOW OF THE ROYAL INSTITUTE OF BRITISH ARCHITECTS
SOMETIME CIVIC ADVISER TO THE CITY OF JERUSALEM

WITH A PREFACE
BY SIR RONALD STORRS
GOVERNOR OF JERUSALEM
PRESIDENT OF THE PRO-JERUSALEM SOCIETY

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PREFACE

ALTHOUGH the Second Volume of the Records of the Pro-Jerusalem Society does not strictly include more than the years 1920–22, I propose in this Preface to offer for the information of members and of the public a very brief review of its activities up to the date of writing.

As stated in the Preface to the First Volume, "there were, and always will remain, many aspects of civic life, more especially in this unique city, in which no Military Administration, no Civil Government even, could, without thwarting civic and individual effort, occupy itself, however sympathetically inclined."

"The objects of the Society, as defined in the Charter, are the preservation and advancement of the interests of Jerusalem, its district and inhabitants, more especially:

"1. The protection of and the addition to the amenities of Jerusalem and its District.

"2. The provision and maintenance of parks, gardens, and open spaces in Jerusalem and its District.

"3. The establishment in the District of Jerusalem of Museums, Libraries, Art Galleries, Exhibitions, Musical and Dramatic Centres, or other institutions of a similar nature for the benefit of the public.

"4. The protection and preservation, with the consent of the Government, of the Antiquities in the District of Jerusalem.

"5. The encouragement in the District of Jerusalem of arts, handicrafts, and industries in consonance with the general objects of the Society.

"6. The administration of any immovable property in the District of Jerusalem which is acquired by the Society or entrusted to it by any person or corporation with a view to securing the improvement of the property and the welfare of its tenants or occupants.

"7. To co-operate with the Departments of Education, Agriculture, Public Health, Public Works, so far as may be in harmony with the general objects of the Society."

It being clearly impossible for a Governor, military or civil, to superintend, still less to carry out in detail the execution of this highly technical programme, I requested Mr. C. R. Ashbee, then in Cairo, to visit Jerusalem and to report upon its possibilities in this respect. After perusal of his interesting and highly suggestive report, I offered to him, and he accepted, the post of Civic Adviser, which included that of Secretary to the Society. Mr. Ashbee began work at once, and for nearly four years rendered loyal and excellent service to Pro-Jerusalem. The weaving and tile-making industries were established, and the Rampart Walk round the walls was cleared and restored.

Mr. Ashbee retired in 1922, and was succeeded by Mr. A. C. Holliday, the present Civic Adviser. Since that date several works and projects of works have to be reported. Special efforts have been made to improve the condition of the Citadel. Many minor repairs have been executed on the crenellated and parapet walls, and repairs to the South Tower are actually in progress. Designs have been prepared for a stone bridge at the entrance of the Citadel. The Turkish barrack buildings within the courtyard are in process of removal, and over 6,000 cubic metres of buildings and stone have already been dug up and carted away.

The clock tower erected by the loyal burgesses of Jerusalem, in a style midway between that of the Eddystone lighthouse and a jubilee memorial to commemorate the thirty-third year of the auspicious reign of the late Sultan Abdul Hamid, has been bodily removed from the north side of the Jaffa Gate, which it too long disfigured, and is being set up again in fulfilment of a promise (less aggressively and shorn of its more offensive trimmings) in the central and suitable neighbourhood of the Post Office Square.

Stricter measures are being enforced for the preservation of the traditional building style of Jerusalem, offensive and unsuitable materials are being prohibited or removed, and an effective control of new buildings and town planning sections has been instituted. The size of shop signs, which had become of recent years a serious disfigurement to the city, has been regulated by Municipal By-laws, under which also the posting of bills, placards, and advertisements is restricted to moderate-sized notice-boards displayed in specially chosen localities. The majority of the streets have been named by a special committee representative of the three great religions, and the names

blazoned in the three official languages in coloured and glazed Dome of the Rock tiles. For the first time in the history of the city the houses of Jerusalem are being numbered. A map is being published to a scale of 1 : 5,000 in English, Arabic, and Hebrew, giving contours and street names. A civic survey and a comprehensive town plan are in course of preparation.

The Society is taking a prominent part in the Palestine Pavilion of the British Empire Exhibition. The celebrated models of the Temples will be exhibited, and the Dome of the Rock and other pottery, with the Hebron glass products, will be sold in the Pavilion. All profits, after reimbursement of the heavy initial expenditure, will be devoted to the work of the Society in Jerusalem.

Early last year I travelled to the United States with the object of enlisting the interest, sympathy, and assistance of that generous nation. I have to record with gratitude the chivalrous reception accorded to my remote and unusual quest, in so much that a sojourn forcibly limited to twenty days resulted in subscriptions and donations amounting to several thousand pounds.

The monthly expenditure of the Society is about £E.200 (exclusive of the exceptional British Empire Exhibition expenses). As the Government grant of £E.1,000 will probably have to be withdrawn, new members and donations are urgently needed.

The following special projects are in contemplation, and are detailed in the hope of striking the imagination of friends, as yet unknown, who may perhaps desire to associate their names with some specific achievement of permanent benefit to the Holy City :

Seats in Palestine marble or other good stone for the Society's parks and gardens. The donor's name will be carved upon the seat ... ... from	£E.20
Seats in wood or iron at convenient points in the Rampart Walk or in the gardens. The donor's name will be cut or painted on the seat ... from	£E.2–5
Repairs to the walls of Jerusalem, to be done in sections	£E.1000
Upkeep of the School of Ceramics	£E.500
Repairs to Citadel (site of Palace of Herod the Great) in sections in its different towers, and excavations...	£E.2000

For the establishment of a Museum to house the Society's collection	£E.500
For repairs to the seven gates of Jerusalem, each about	£E.50
Minor repairs to the historic bazaars ... ... from	£E.10
Gifts of historical subjects (Palestine history) for the Society's Museum.	
Gifts of examples of arts and crafts, especially examples of Oriental weaving and embroidery for the School of Textiles.	

I would like to take this opportunity of thanking the High Commissioner for his never-failing interest and support, and the departing Assistant Governor, Mr. H. C. Luke, whose activities and vigilance recently evoked from the Council a unanimous resolution appointing him to life-long membership ; further, the past and present Civic Advisers for their loyal collaboration. I would also place on record the debt of gratitude which Jerusalem owes to the members of the Council, the Mayor, the Director of Antiquities, the Mufti, the Orthodox, the Latin and the Armenian Patriarchs, the Anglican Bishop, the President of the Jewish Community, and the other distinguished Moslems, Christians, and Jews, all of them busy men with urgent and important duties of their own, who, nevertheless, have not spared themselves nor their time in keeping this constructive and unifying fellowship so far as possible abreast with the needs of the time, and in holding it above and out of the dust and clamour of political and other controversy.

Of our benefactors many, who live in remote continents, may never witness the results of their generosity ; of whom we can but say that, while some little of their achievement will be presented to their vision by picture and by plan, their true satisfaction will rest rather in the sure and certain knowledge that, through their loving carefulness, Jerusalem will have been preserved nearer to the city of their faith and of their dreams.

RONALD STORRS,
President of the Pro-Jerusalem Society.

April, 1924.

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COUNCIL OF THE PRO-JERUSALEM SOCIETY

Founded September 1918.

Incorporated October 1920 (under the Palestine Administration).

HON. PRESIDENT.

The Right Hon. SIR HERBERT SAMUEL, C.B.E., High Commissioner of Palestine.

PRESIDENT.

SIR RONALD STORRS, C.M.G., C.B.E., Governor of Jerusalem.

COUNCIL.

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Members.

The Mayor of Jerusalem.
The Director of Antiquities.
His Eminence the Rais al-'Ulema.
His Beatitude the Orthodox Patriarch.
His Beatitude the Latin Patriarch.
His Beatitude the Armenian Patriarch.
The Right Rev. the Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem.
The Very Reverend the Custodian of Terra Santa.
His Reverence the Superior of the Dominican Convent.
The Very Reverend Chief Rabbi Kuk.
The Representative of the Palestine Zionist Executive.
Le Rév. Père Abel (École Biblique de Saint-Étienne).
Mr. C. R. Ashbee, M.A., F.R.I.B.A. (late Civic Adviser).
Le Capitaine Barluzzi.
Captain K. A. C. Creswell, M.B.E. (late Inspector of Monuments, G.S., O.E.T.A.).
Dr. M. Eliash, B.Litt.
Professor Patrick Geddes.
Mr. R. A. Harari.
Muza Kazem Pasha al-Husseini, C.B.E.
Mr. H. C. Luke, B.Litt., M.A. (Assistant Governor of Jerusalem).
Mr. J. Meyuhas, M.B.E.
Mr. E. T. Richmond.
Mr. D. G. Salameh.
Dr. Nahum Slousch.
Mr. Jacob Spafford.
Le Rév. Père Vincent (École Biblique de Saint-Étienne).
Mr. John Whiting.
Mr. David Yellin, M.B.E. (Vice-Mayor of Jerusalem).
Mr. A. C. Holliday, B.A., Civic Adviser (Hon. Secretary).

NOTE

While there has been careful collaboration between the various writers of the essays here following, the Council, as well as the individual writers, wish it to be understood that the writers alone take responsibility for the statements made.

The Council desire to thank the American Colony for the use of many valuable photographs.

ED.

JERUSALEM

1920—1922

By C. R. Ashbee

Introductory

1. The present volume carries on the work conceived, planned, and started during the period of the British Military Occupation of Palestine. The occupation lasted roughly for two years, the Civil Administration beginning on July 1, 1920. The present record, therefore, may be taken to cover the two years from that date, and the volume containing it might be fitly named "Jerusalem, 1921–1922," in effect the two years of Civil Administration that preceded the formal granting of the Mandate.

2. The principal interest, from a practical point of view, in the present volume will, I think, be found to lie in a comparison between what was planned and what may have been accomplished—the dream and its realization. This involves other than the purely technical considerations dealt with in the following pages. The status of the Society in the new Administration had to be considered and its relations to such of the newly created Government Departments whose work impinged upon that of the Society. Thus the conservation of public monuments in the Jerusalem area became also a matter for the newly established Department of Antiquities. The town planning of the modern city and the making of roads became a matter that also concerned the newly established Department of Public Works and the Town Planning Commission. Further, there was during the years 1921 and 1922 a much more precise definition of the functions of the Jerusalem Municipality and those of the Pro-Jerusalem Council and the Civic Adviser.

3. Two things became evident during the two years with which we are dealing: first, powers and functions which were formerly exercised by the Pro-Jerusalem Council through the Governor's Administrative order were exercised more and more by the new

departments of State ; and, in the second place, many of the ideas, plans, and proposals outlined in Vol. I have been, at least as far as Jerusalem is concerned, incorporated into the structure of the new State. The Pro-Jerusalem Society did its four years' work during a very plastic period in the social history of Palestine. Such laws as the Antiquities Ordinance, the Town Planning Ordinance, the regulations regarding corrugated iron and advertisement, the Town Plan with its green belt or " reserved area " round the Holy City, the new municipal by-laws—all these were largely stimulated by, or were the direct outcome of, discussions on the Pro-Jerusalem Council, or of action taken by it. As the new social order becomes less plastic and more rigid it will be interesting to watch how far the Society is able to go on inspiring and moulding the new social life. So far much of this legislation may be regarded as typical of the post-war State. Will it all survive ? No community can live for long above its own level. Will the new order that is shaping in Palestine be able to grow within, and carry out, the new laws which its Administrators in the years 1921 and 1922 made for it ? The thought contains a challenge.

Following the method of the previous volume, the grouping is under the heading of (1) Work of Conservation, (2) the New Town Plan. This broadly is first the protection of the old city, then the laying out of the new.

4. The various contributions by members of the Council are of special interest in that they all touch on the Society's work. Père Abel contributes a monograph on the condition of the city in the Crusading period. This monograph is largely epigraphical. The Reverend Father was a member of the street-naming committee, to the work of which I give a special section below, and without his great knowledge of the nomenclature and the written records of Jerusalem in its various languages the sub-committee would have been unable to carry on their work. Mr. H. C. Luke, the Assistant Governor of Jerusalem, contributes an extract from the Diary of a sixteenth-century Franciscan Pilgrim to the Holy City, translated from the unpublished Latin manuscript in his possession. We also have from his hand an account of the Christian Communities in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. This chapter, in view of the recent changes within the body of the Orthodox Church, has particular interest and significance.

Mr. Geo. Antonius contributes a monograph upon the historical side of the craft of Ceramics. This dovetails into the Society's practical work on behalf of the tilework and repair of the Dome of the Rock, and the School of Ceramics, which it initiated in 1920. Mr. Creswell's bibliography of Moslem Architecture in Palestine will be found to be an invaluable addition to the study, and more especially to the dating of Arabic building—matters about which English architects and writers have been very ignorant.

The remaining contributions, the account of the new Jewish town planning projects, and the work of the local craftsmen at Government House, explain themselves. They deal almost entirely with modern work and modern creative endeavour. I treat the subject-matter in its place, but would like to say here that without the assistance, the constant and kindly encouragement, of Dr. Ruppin, or the scholarly labours of Mr. Kauffmann, the work could not have taken the shape it has in the actual town plan of the city, nor could I have set down the record of what has been done or projected in the two years and which is here shown.

The Work of Conservation

5. The disaster of the Great War has forced upon all men and women the necessity of preserving all that is possible of the beauty and the purpose, in actual form, of the civilizations that have passed before. We have come to see, moreover, that this is not a mere matter of archæology or the protection of ancient buildings. In the blind mechanical order with which we are threatened everything that we associate with our sense of beauty is alike in danger. Landscape, the unities of streets and sites, the embodied vision of the men that set the great whole together, the sense of colour which in any oriental city is still a living sense—all these things have to be considered practically ; they must, to put it plainly, be protected against the incursions of the grasping trader, the ignorant workman, the self-interested property owner, and the well-intentioned Government Department.

In Jerusalem, perhaps more than in any other city, these facts are brought home to us. It is a city unique, and before all things a city of idealists, a city moreover in which the idealists through succeeding generations have torn each other and their city to pieces. Over forty times has it changed hands in history. And perhaps partly because of all this and partly because of the grandeur of its site and surrounding landscape it is a city of singular romance and beauty.

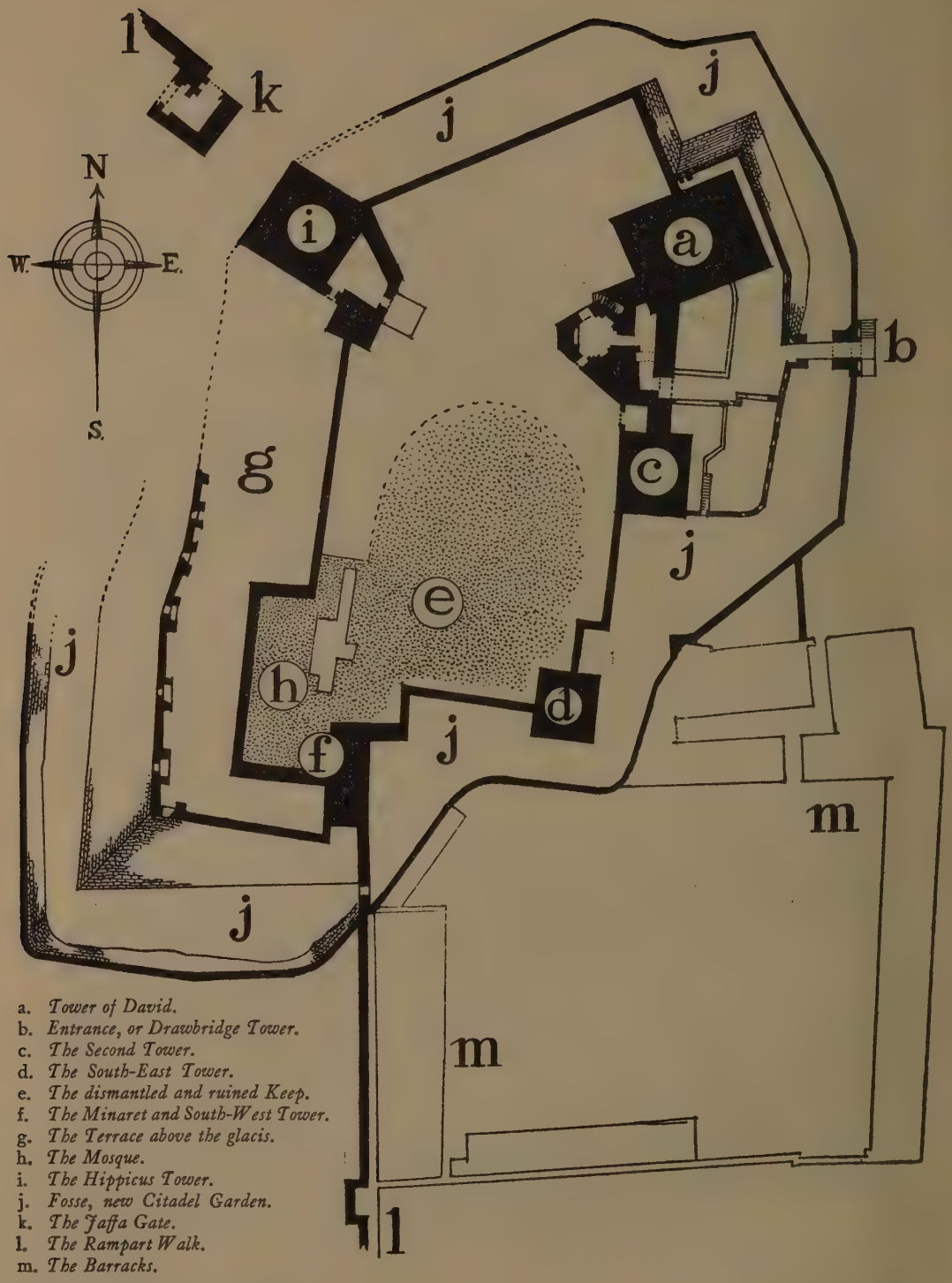
These facts are emphasized by other considerations. When the British Military Administration began work there were practically no roads. The Turks only improvised roads and most of them the Great War had destroyed. Next, in the turning of every sod or scrap of stone some historic association is affected. There are then the interminable questions of prescriptive right in venerated sites, the joint ownerships by divers and conflicting religious bodies. The city maintains a large parasitic population—priests, caretakers, monks, missionaries, pious women, clerks, lawyers, the motley order that has a vested interest in maintaining the *status quo*. Here is a force that often makes for what is picturesque and conservative, but as often checks the administrator in genuine and rational improvement, because the sanction for what he wants to do rests not in the city itself, but in the great world outside somewhere, hidden away. The actual bit of stone or the rubbish-heap we want to clean up may, it is true, belong

to some Greek, or Moslem, or Jew, but the Armenian, the English Protestant, the Abyssinian, the American missionary, the Italian, the Wakf in India, the Copt, the other fellow somewhere—they all have a word to say on the matter, and before we do anything we must wait to hear it.

And, last, there has been the fact that has necessarily modified alike the enterprise of the Pro-Jerusalem Society and the Administration—there has been very little money to do anything with. This, though it may cripple historical research, may also be a protection against vandalism or ill-considered enterprise, for one great power at least the Administrator of to-day possesses, the power of sitting tight and doing nothing, of stopping unintelligent or destructive action, of waiting till a better day. If he have taste, though he himself be precluded from all creation, he can at least prevent foolish or wanton things from being done. That has, in the Holy City during the last five years, been a very great help.

And one thing we whose concern is civics must always remember. In the conservation of a city, whether it be like London, Paris, Rome, or New York, well within the great stream of the world, or whether like Jerusalem set upon a hill-top and remote, what we are conserving is not only the things themselves, the streets, the houses, spires, towers, and domes, but the way of living, the idealism, the feeling for righteousness and fitness which these things connote, and with which every city with any claim to dignity and beauty is instinct.

6. I will now take the Society's work of conservation in detail and begin with the Citadel of Jerusalem. This has been the centre of its activities. There are, including the little tower at the entrance gate and the old drawbridge, seven main towers in the Citadel, and to all but one of these the Society during the last two years did some important structural work. I give twenty-one illustrations, eight of them photographs and thirteen diagrams or plans, and I take them in the order of the towers on the plan (Illustration No. 1). Beginning with the entrance or drawbridge tower (b on the plan), I show in No. 2 a photograph of the tower as it was before the ugly, dilapidated Turkish woodwork was cleared away. Illustration No. 3 shows the little tower, carefully pointed and repaired, and once again free. The picture also shows the fosse garden as finally constructed. Passing through the entrance tower, we come to a beautiful little octagon,



a. *Tower of David.*
b. *Entrance, or Drawbridge Tower.*
c. *The Second Tower.*
d. *The South-East Tower.*
e. *The dismantled and ruined Keep.*
f. *The Minaret and South-West Tower.*
g. *The Terrace above the glacis.*
h. *The Mosque.*
i. *The Hippicus Tower.*
j. *Fosse, new Citadel Garden.*
k. *The Jaffa Gate.*
l. *The Rampart Walk.*
m. *The Barracks.*

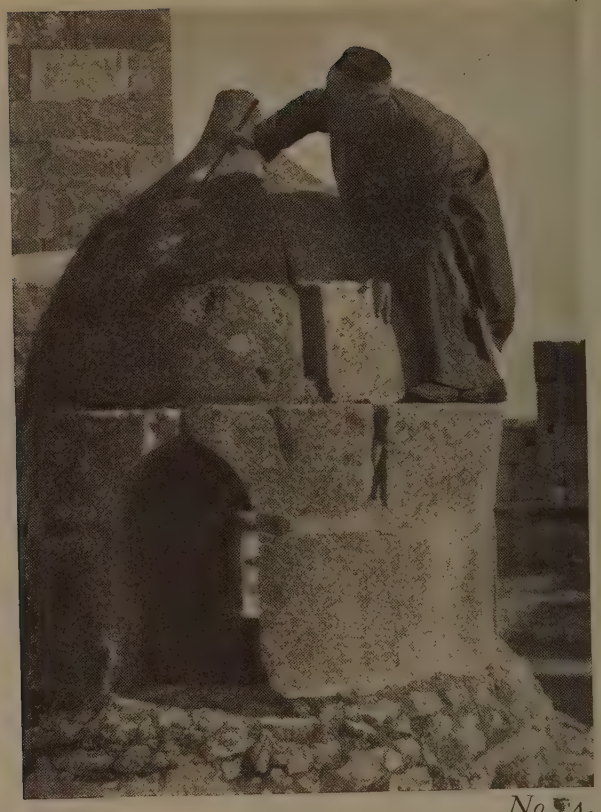
Key Plan of the Citadel. *No.* 1.

No. 2.

Citadel Drawbridge before repair.

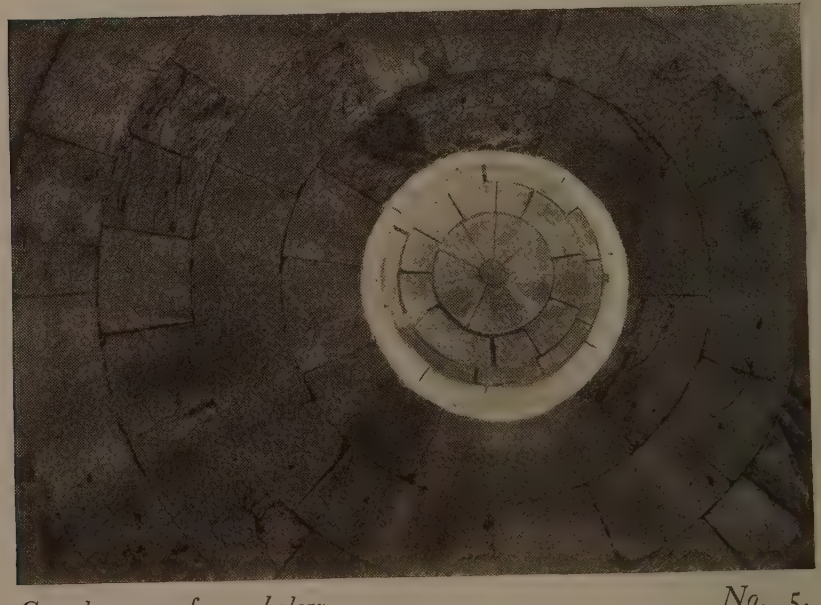
No. 3.

Drawbridge Tower.

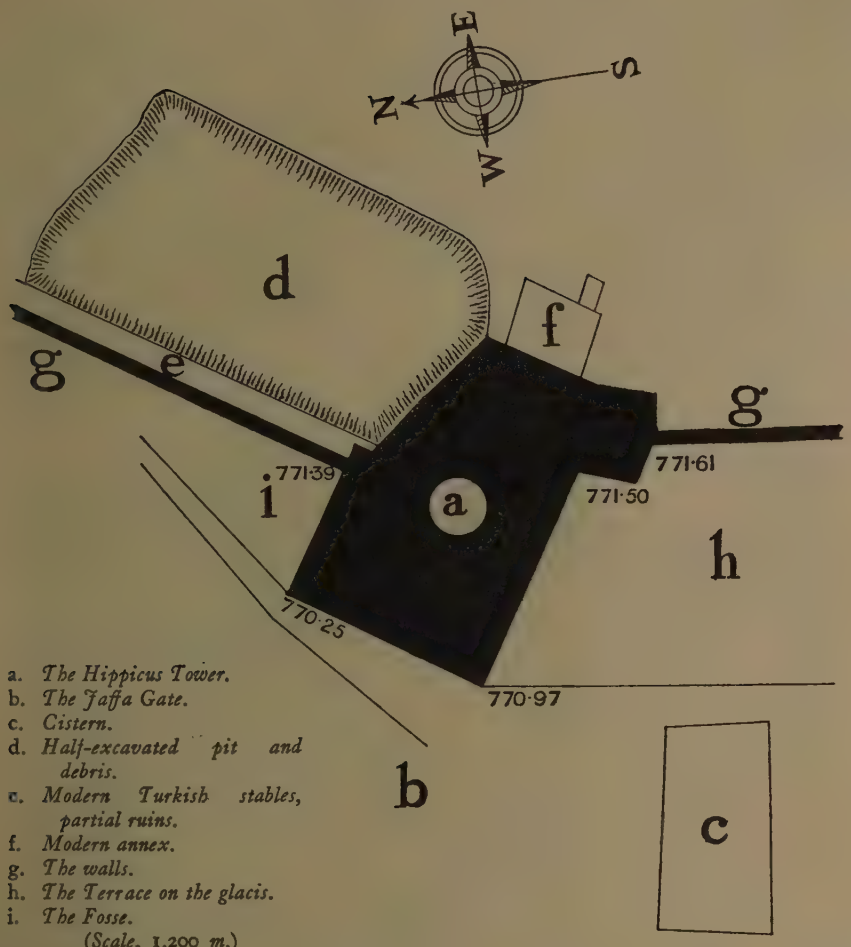


No. 4.

Cupola during reconstruction.



Cupola seen from below. No. 5.

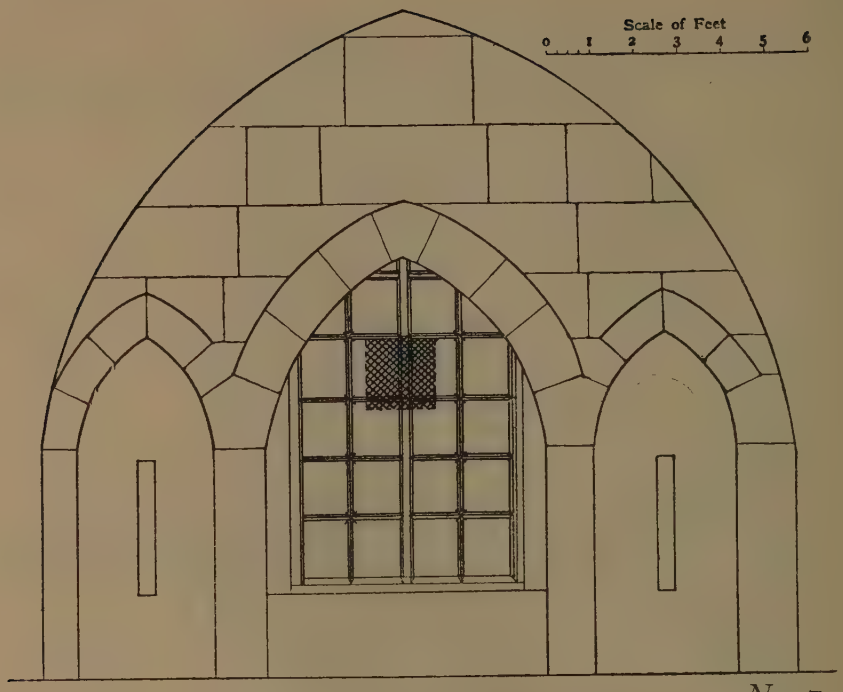


a. *The Hippicus Tower.*
b. *The Jaffa Gate.*
c. *Cistern.*
d. *Half-excavated pit and debris.*
e. *Modern Turkish stables, partial ruins.*
f. *Modern annex.*
g. *The walls.*
h. *The Terrace on the glacis.*
i. *The Fosse.*
(*Scale*, 1.200 *m.*)

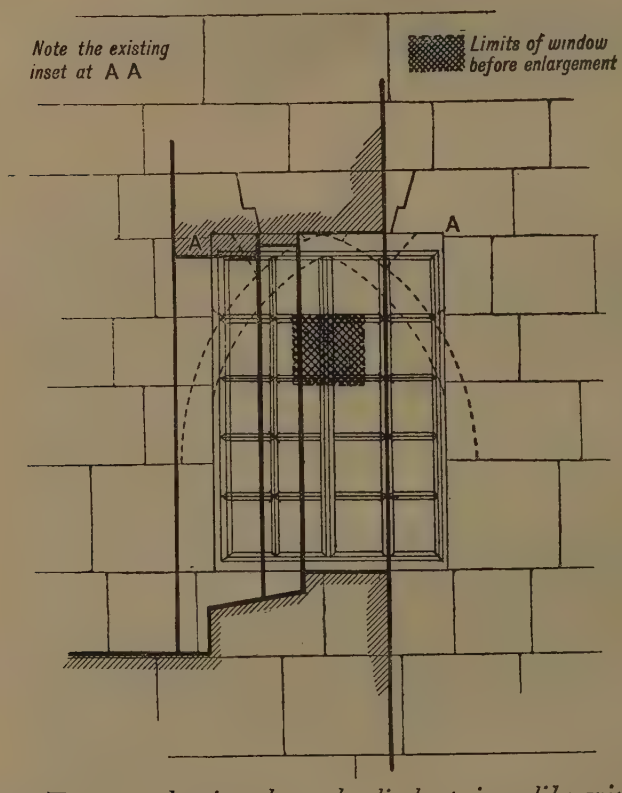
The Hippicus Tower. Block Plan. *No.* 6.

so called, of Suleiman the Magnificent. Over this octagon is a dome or cupola. This was falling ; the parts were reassembled and reset. No. 4 shows one of the Society's masons at work on this cupola, and No. 5 the masonry itself as seen from below.

One of the most important pieces of structural repair has been that on the East or Second Tower (see c on Plan No. 1), which was taken in hand with the financial help of the Department of Antiquities. Some of the Roman stone work, reset in Moslem times, was dis-



No. 7.



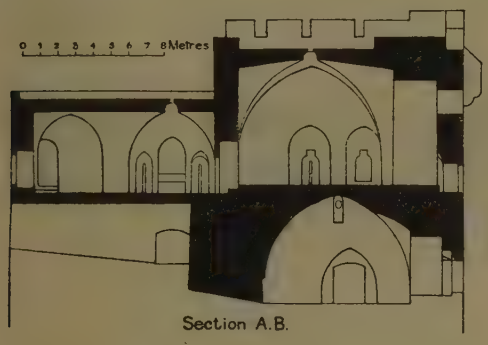
No. 8.

The Hippicus Tower—showing how the little prison-like window (hatched in the diagrams) was replaced by a large light fitted into, but without disturbing, the original masonry.

integrating. The beautiful illustration (*See Frontispiece*) shows the Society's masons at work. The lower portion of the tower was made good and the bulk of the tower repointed.

The same picture shows in the distance the Tower of David. To the outside of this nothing was done, but the Society repaired and opened out the interior, making of the great central chamber a rather beautiful exhibition room.

A like work was carried out in the Hippicus Tower (see i on Plan No. 1). This, which before and during war was a hospital for spotted fever, was carefully put in order and the interior converted into two large exhibition rooms (Nos. 9 to 15). Illustrations Nos. 7 and 8



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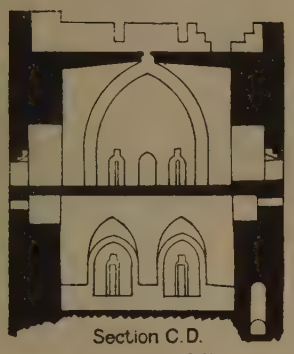
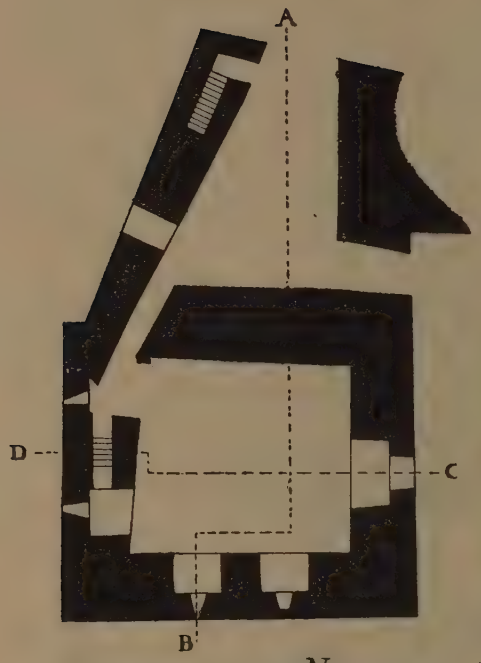


No. 10.

The Hippicus Tower.

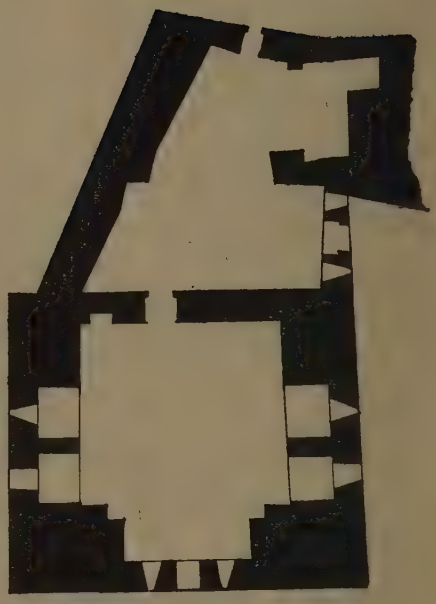
show how the little prison-like window beneath the arch was enlarged to light the great room. The Hippicus Tower flanking the Jaffa Road, and opposite the Jaffa Gate, is necessarily one of the main features of any improvement scheme in this part of the city, as will be seen later when the Jaffa Gate improvement is considered (see pp. 21, 22, 23). The Society, therefore, arranged with the Department of Antiquities to have this tower specially measured, and some of the drawings here given are from the measurements of Mr. Salante.

The last of the towers, upon which the Society was at work in 1922, is the south-west tower (see Nos. 16 and 17) in which a serious crack showed itself in the summer of 1922. This tower, the fall of which would endanger the minaret, is one of the most distinguished of all the Citadel towers. Though the Society at the time had no



No. 11.

Lower, or street level plan.

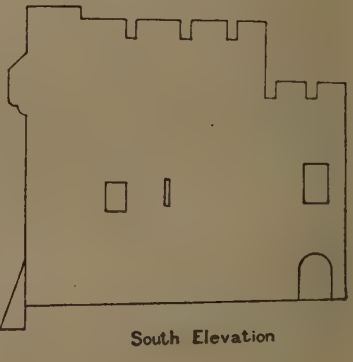


No. 12.

Upper floor plan.

The Hippicus Tower.

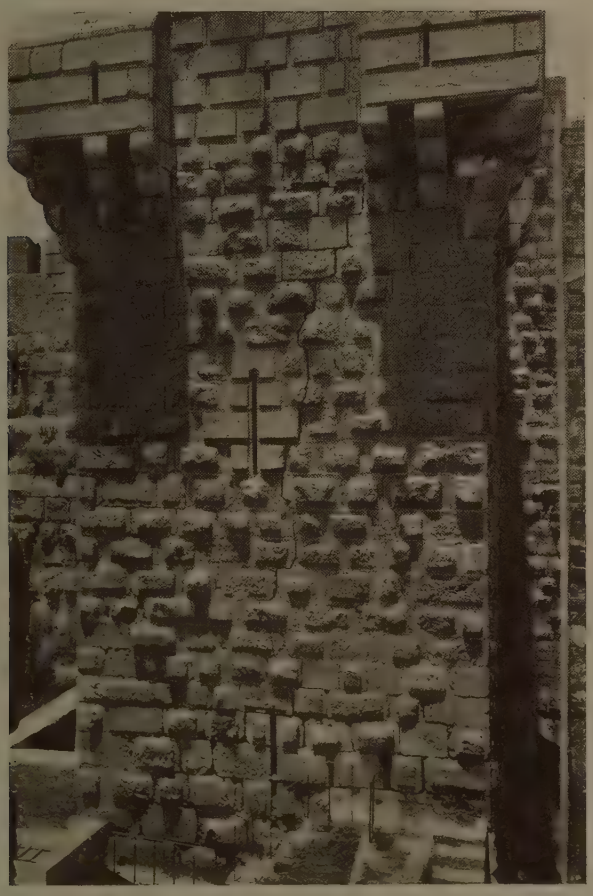
No. 13. *No.* 14.



No. 15.

The Hippicus Tower.

Tower by the Minaret. *No.* 16.



No. 17.

Tower by the Minaret, showing the crack.

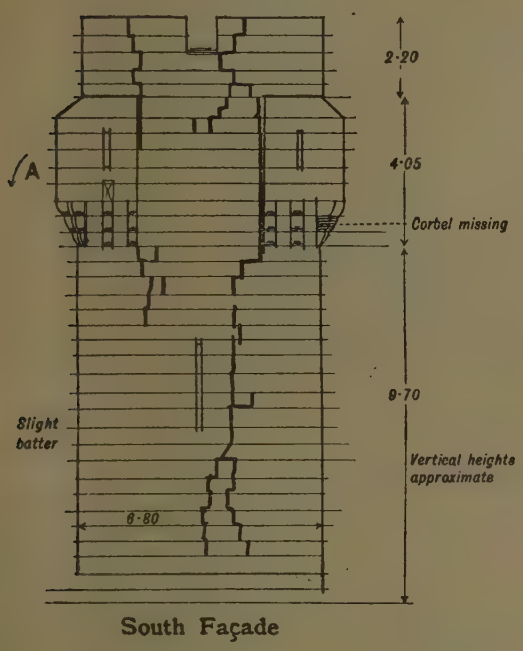
No. 20.

Citadel Glacis during repairs.

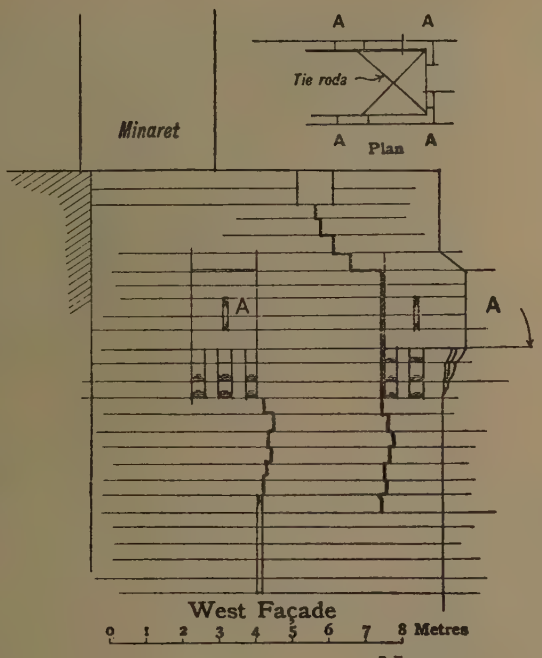
No. 21.

Present ending of the Rampart Walk by St. Stephen's Gate

money it was felt that special sacrifices must be made and the £E.300 needed for its protection somehow or other found. The diagrams here given (Nos. 18 and 19) show the cracks in detail and the method of tying to be adopted.



No. 18.



No. 19.

Citadel South Tower.

The thick black lines show the cracks in the masonry.

The last of the Citadel works to which I shall allude is the repair of the angle of the glacis. In No. 20 we see the work in progress. Illustration No. 16 shows the glacis in its relation to the whole Citadel.

It will, I think, be agreed that these various works undertaken at a total cost of about £E.1,000 (the exact figure during the financial year 1921 was £495, the balance having been spent later), show no mean record of conservation taken over a period of two years. And, indeed, the work was needed. There had been no repair for over ten years, and much of the Citadel was in danger of falling. Much

yet remains to do, and much of the most interesting work historically is below the ground level or in the blocked-up passages beneath or skirting the glacis, or even under the moat. But the Citadel of Jerusalem is one of those buildings upon which the architect and the archæologist join issue. The latter would wish to dig it up and search its origins. To do this he has to kill the building. The former insists that as the building is still alive and serving a purpose, noble and beautiful, it must be so kept. The later periods cannot be disturbed to reveal the earlier. Architecture here is more important than archæology.

7. The work on the Citadel leads inevitably to that of the ramparts. The preserving and opening out of the Rampart, or Sentinel's Walk, which was discussed at length in the first volume of the Jerusalem Records, is now to all intents and purposes complete. All encroachments except one have been cleared away ; that one, the most difficult of all, is at the two ends of the Haram al Sherif. One of these is shown in Illustration No. 21, the other was shown in the first volume Illustration No. 39. The difficulty is not technical, it is political, and it is greater than it was at the close of the Military Administration. In technical matters that affect the general welfare or the amenities of the whole community alike it was often easier to get things done then than now. Mr. Benton Fletcher's drawing (No. 26), which with the other in this volume the Council commissioned him to do, gives an interesting view of this side of the Rampart Walk from without the walls. The precise way in which it is proposed to solve the problem of linking up the last section of the walk that will pass across the Al Aqsa Mosque is not yet determined. An inconspicuous iron way, skirting the Al Aqsa outside, is suggested (see Inset No. 27). Illustrations Nos. 23 and 24 show two clearances near the New Gate, the former a gang at work opposite the Convent of the Sœurs Réparatrices ; the latter the lowering of the roof of the Franciscan Convent, where a gabled roof had been built over, and butting upon the Rampart Walk parapet. This, by arrangement with His Reverence the President of the Franciscan Community, was brought down to the level of the walk, thus preserving the public right-of-way.

Illustration No. 25 is of the utmost interest. It shows how the activities of the Pro-Jerusalem Society have automatically come to be incorporated in the working legislation of the city. The building

No. 23.

Rampart Walk, clearance in progress.

No. 24.

Rampart Walk, showing the lowering of the roof of the Franciscan Convent to reopen the public way at that point.

No. 25.

Rampart Walk, showing the building line of the Latin Patriarchate, now safeguarded by the town planning legislation.

No. 26.

Al Aqsa Mosque, showing the break in the Rampart Walk on the south side of the city. No. 27.

The Inset No. 27 shows, at the point A to A, where it is proposed to connect the Rampart Walk with the Haram al Sherif below the Mosque.

Rampart Walk as now completed around Bezetha. *No.* 28.

Damascus Gate pinnacles before repair. *No.* 29.

Damascus Gate pinnacles after repair. *No.* 30.

is the Latin Patriarchate with its garden skirting the walk. Beyond is the Citadel with the Hippicus Tower and David's Tower. A permit to build had been asked for at the point shown below the arrow, thus blocking out the view of the towers from the walk. The Society had nothing to do with the case except through its representative officer, myself, with whom lay the decision as to whether it should be brought up at the Town Planning Commission. With this body, under the new law, rests the final decision as to whether or not permits shall be allowed that affect the town plan. The case was heard, the Commission disallowed the permit, and ruled that the building line of the Latin Patriarchate must be followed. A precedent of the utmost importance under the new law was thus established which may have the effect of saving large portions of the city from destruction.

The last illustration I give of the now completed Rampart Walk (No. 28) is that of the corner by the Stork Tower. It shows the great stretch of the walls across Bezetha and looking out to Scopus and the Mount of Olives.

8. I now come to the Gates. During the two years effective work has been done upon three, the Jaffa Gate, the Damascus Gate, and Herod's Gate. Over the last of these the Rampart Walk was cleared. At Damascus Gate an important piece of repair work was undertaken on the pinnacles, again with the financial assistance of the Department of Antiquities. I give two illustrations (Nos. 29 and 30) of their condition before and after repair. Beneath these pinnacles, in the eastern wing of the gate, one of the old guard-rooms was cleaned up and let as a studio. It is now in the occupation of Mr. Melnikoff the sculptor. The more important scheme of the Khan outside the Damascus Gate, which has also been considered by the Society, I shall deal with below (section 20), as it affects town planning rather than conservation, though, indeed, the partial opening up of the Roman arch and levels is involved (see plan 44).

For the Jaffa Gate the Council worked out a definite scheme entailing the removal of the clock tower. It is now proposed, in deference to wishes of the donors, to re-erect it elsewhere. The Rampart Walk was opened out through the Jaffa Gate, an attempt having been made to convert that entrance into private property.

9. In the old sûqs and covered ways of the city the Society was unfortunately not able, owing to lack of funds, to do what should be

done. I would refer here again to what was set forth on this matter in p. 8 of the *Records*, Vol. I. Almost everything there stated still holds good. One piece of work, however, was well carried through, and this largely owing to the enterprise of the Mayor of Jerusalem, Ragib Bey Nashashibi. This work is best shown in the drawing made for the Council by Mr. Benton Fletcher (Illustration No. 31). The matter is one of finance. It is much to be hoped that the plan of the *pro rata* levy on property owners will shortly be worked out. To this could be added, where needed, the sums budgeted for the upkeep of historic buildings in the municipal budget.

These ancient sûqs of Jerusalem are unique. Their present state and the photographic records scattered up and down the Society's two volumes of *Records* should be studied side by side with Père Abel's plan of the mediæval city (Illustration No. 45).

10. A matter upon which the Society would have liked to take action, but which unfortunately went no further than report and conservative advice, was the state of the houses in the Tariq Bab al Selseleh, the most beautiful street in Jerusalem. I give two illustrations (Nos. 32 and 33). Most of these houses are private, and Wakf property; moreover, they are almost entirely Moslem. An occasional bit of pointing, the saving of a stone or an inscription here and there, would be of immense, because of timely, help. It is a matter upon which the Pro-Jerusalem Society and the Wakf might co-operate. Here, again, technical matters are often affected adversely by political considerations.

The Sûq al Kabir, showing the Society's repairs. *No.* 31.

No. 32.

The Tariq Bab al Selseleh.

No. 33.

Details of a window in the Tariq Bab al Selseleh.

Note the crack through the inscription.

The New Town Plan

11. A study in the Council's work upon the new city during the years 1921–22 becomes inevitably a study in town planning, and town planning of a very practical and direct kind. Not only had a new city to be planned; the law had to be drafted that should make this planning possible, and the machinery set up that should give effect to the law. Moreover, all the remains of the old Turkish order had to be taken over as part of the O.E.T.A. heritage, and this often made direct action or a "clean slate" impossible.

It was after many informal conferences between members of the Council, Professor Geddes, Dr. Ruppin, the Legal Adviser, the Governor of Jerusalem, and myself that the law was finally got into shape for drafting, and it was the two years' experience of the Pro-Jerusalem Society that provided the necessary data, or indicated how much of the modern western town planning legislation it might be possible to use in Palestine.

12. The Palestine Town Planning Ordinance then may be said to have come into existence largely as the result of the spade work done in the city by the Council of the Pro-Jerusalem Society. Much of the legislation it embodies is dealt with in the Council's early minutes, and the ideas set forth in Vol. I of the *Records* have for the most part been incorporated.

It has been complained that the Ordinance is complicated and difficult to understand, that it is impossible to render in the three official languages, that it is in parts, as a mere matter of machinery, unworkable. Some of these criticisms were found to be just, and in 1922 an amending Ordinance was passed to give effect to them. And there is much of real truth in them. Laws and Ordinances that are suitable to western cities, and partly because of the way in which their citizens observe and administer them, may not be suitable to eastern cities, or it may be a very long time before they are.

13. The question whether the work initiated by the Pro-Jerusalem Society in the new town plan succeeds or not will depend very largely upon whether the members of the Town Planning Commission appointed under the Ordinance to carry out the town plan understand and can administer the great trust committed to them. It is that

Commission which has now taken over all the duties of the Pro-Jerusalem Society in respect of the town plan, and their success or failure will largely affect all the other cities of Palestine.

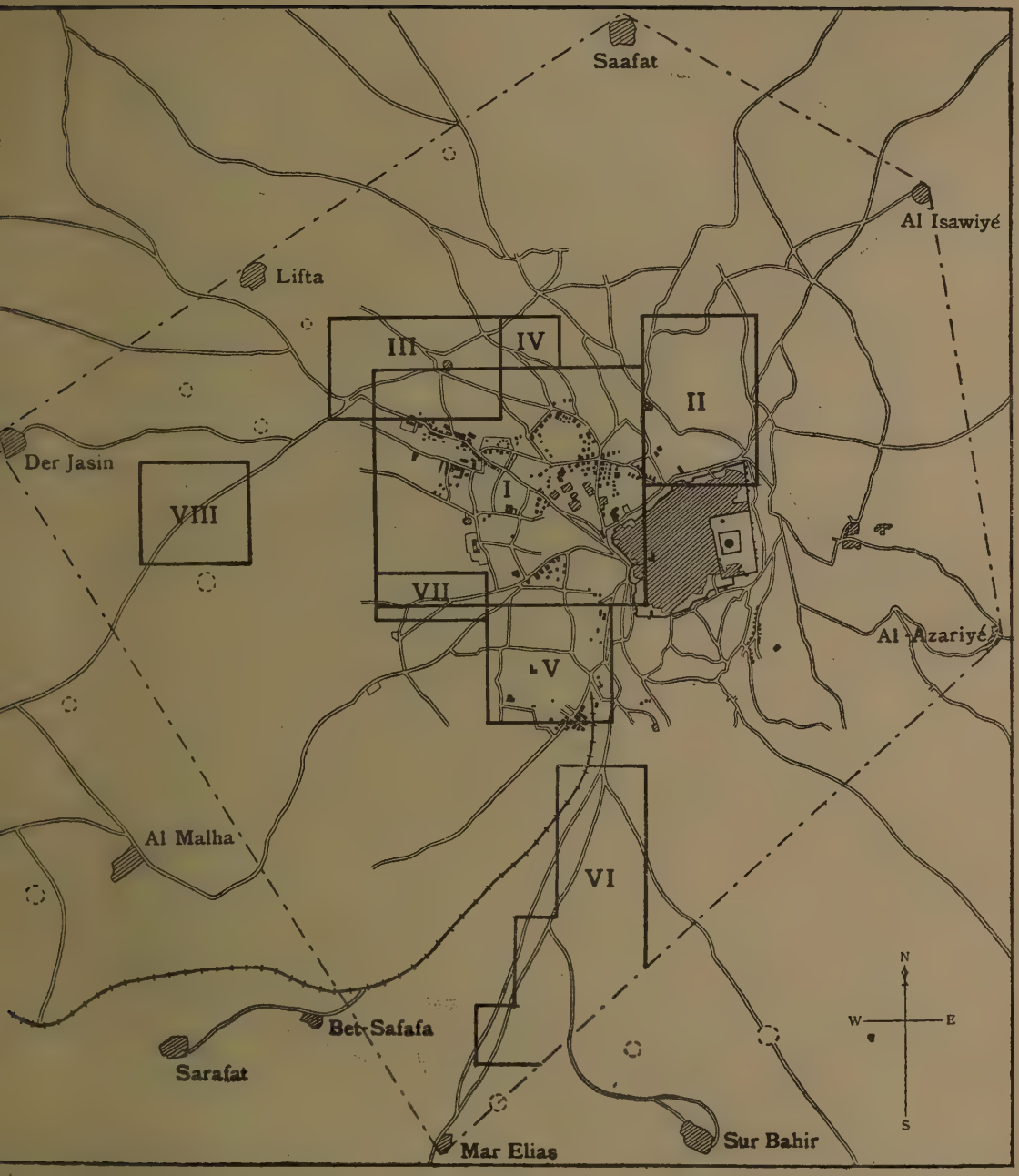
There stand to the credit of the Jerusalem Town Planning Commission, which may then be justly claimed as the child of the Pro-Jerusalem Society, four important pieces of work during the years 1921 and 1922.

1. The establishment of the new town boundaries.
2. The zoning of the city in general outline.
3. The first draft of the new body of by-laws and regulations that shall give effect to the law.
4. The lay-out and aligning of eight sections of the new city.

14. The plan I show (No. 34) illustrates the first and fourth of these achievements. The now established boundaries lie along the nearest convenient geographical points within the dotted containing line, but including the villages of Saafat, El-Isawiyé, El-Azarié, Mar Elias, Der Jasin, and Lifta. The eight numbered areas upon the plan represent those portions of the city whose new road alignments and lay-out have been passed by the Jerusalem Town Planning Commission. Of these Nos. VI, VII, and VIII are new Jewish garden cities, with which I shall deal later (see pages 65, 66, 67).

A word is needed here on the vitally important question of survey. The Pro-Jerusalem Society fought bravely, and for long unsuccessfully, for a proper survey of the city. Every town planner knows that without the preliminary datum of a correct survey the making of a town plan is an impossibility. The Military Administration took a different view. They held that the town plan might be made, but refused to sanction any budget for the survey ; the municipal surveyor's office was thus broken up, and the staff discharged. This threw the work back for two years, and it was not until the Civil Administration was well established that this was remedied. On the key plan the central portions of the new city are based upon the municipal survey of Mr. Guini, the outlying portions upon the official survey of Palestine which his Excellency the High Commissioner put at the service of the city. Thus whereas the McLean and Geddes plans are based on incorrect data, the eight sections of the new town plan are fixed upon data that claim to be accurate.

It is considered wiser not to reproduce here the eight aligned



he Jerusalem Town Planning Area. *No.* 34.

The area is within the dotted lines, the numbered sections are those in which the plan has been officially passed.

sections, first on the ground of expense, then on that of scale, and lastly because all are still liable to modification during the process of development in the next few years. It may therefore be better to issue them in some later volume that shall give the complete town plan. There will probably be some twenty sections in all, and these have to be linked together with the eight sections already officially published and open for inspection in the Municipality of Jerusalem.

15. I give, however, the zoning plan in general outline coloured (No. 35) because it affects the order and arrangement of the new city. Also a zoning plan necessarily precedes the making of new alignments, or the planning of new roads and quarters. This plan must, however, be regarded only as a first draft. No complete plan is possible until the survey itself has been completed. But the plan here shown is the working plan upon which permits to build were granted up to the end of the period covered by this volume.

Zoning, indeed, as understood in European cities, is hardly yet possible in the East. There is too much mediævalism, too much muddle and litter of western industrialism to be first cleared out of the way, and, above all, the people themselves are not as yet ready to act in accordance with the laws when these are made. They are still too dependent upon orders imposed from above. In some respects this makes our task as town planners easier, but in so far as we try as administrators to encourage the citizens to think, act, and legislate for themselves, we are handicapped because an ideal order is postulated.

To make the town plan itself ideal predicates a good deal more than town planning. Thus we have after long and careful study to set the roads where they should go, we have to consider all the beauty spots, we have to save and link up all the historic buildings, we have to tear down and clear away all the ugly things and make the private give way to the public interests. That is the ideal way. The City of Jerusalem is worthy such a treatment. As a matter of practical experience and where there is no money what happens is very different. It is impossible to get out of the hard rut of existing roads ; all we can do is to widen a little. It is difficult, often impossible, to touch buildings that are in the hands of religious bodies. There is as yet neither money nor administrative machinery to keep in repair historic buildings, and many of the finest of these are in private hands. The real work is, after all, not the drawing of the city plan on paper, nor the description

of it in a book, nor the comments on it in an office file, nor even the making of a picture of it for the walls of the Royal Academy. The real work is to administer it intelligently and towards the shaping of a more or less ideal end. The only test of this is the beauty and the comeliness of the city itself.

Park System and Gardens

16. I deal now with certain minor aspects of the town plan which have been under the special charge of the Pro-Jerusalem Society, and I take first the parks and gardens.

The Citadel Garden, of which illustrations have already been given, has made considerable progress, and some gracious and valuable gifts (see Nos. 36 to 39) have been made to it. The pictures speak for themselves. Of the ceramic work, I shall speak later (see pages 29 and 62). A beautiful example of the Dome of the Rock tiles is shown, No. 39. Mr. Antonius, in his article on the Kutahia craft, pp. 58 and 59, also refers to its revival in Jerusalem.

17. A careful record has been kept of all the trees planted in the city during the two years with which this monograph deals. The record for the second of these years will be found in Appendix I. It shows thirty-eight failures in a total of 1,903 trees planted in 1921–2, as against 332 failures in a total of 1,283 planted during the year 1920–21. The reason of this success is, from the civic point of view, highly gratifying. The staff learned to understand their work better, the public to give it greater value. The Society established two nurseries, one in the Citadel Garden, one on the open land claimed by the municipality and known as Jamal Pasha's Park, near the Muscovia.

18. The work in the Post Office Square still needs completion. The stone work has to be finished, the terraces to be paved, and the circular seat and steps, as shown in Vol. I, p. 25, to be built. But the trees at the close of 1922 were doing well, and this centre of the town, instead of being an ugly refuse heap of broken stone and litter, was taking form and colour. Meantime the land itself, under the new Town Planning Ordinance, has to be expropriated or the owner compensated. The return upon the capital outlay, it is estimated, will be from improved values to the municipal buildings in the square and from the " Sharafia," or betterment tax.

Seat in the Citadel Garden. The gift of Mrs. Elizabeth McQueen. *No.* 36.

Seat in the Citadel Garden. The gift of the Anglo-American Society. *No.* 37.

Seat in the Citadel Garden. The gift of Mr. Arthur Franklin. *No.* 38.

Seat in the Citadel Garden. The gift of Miss Virginia Blandy. *No.* 39.

Jaffa Gate, the present condition, showing the market sprawling over the road area and upon the Fosse (now covered). No. 42.

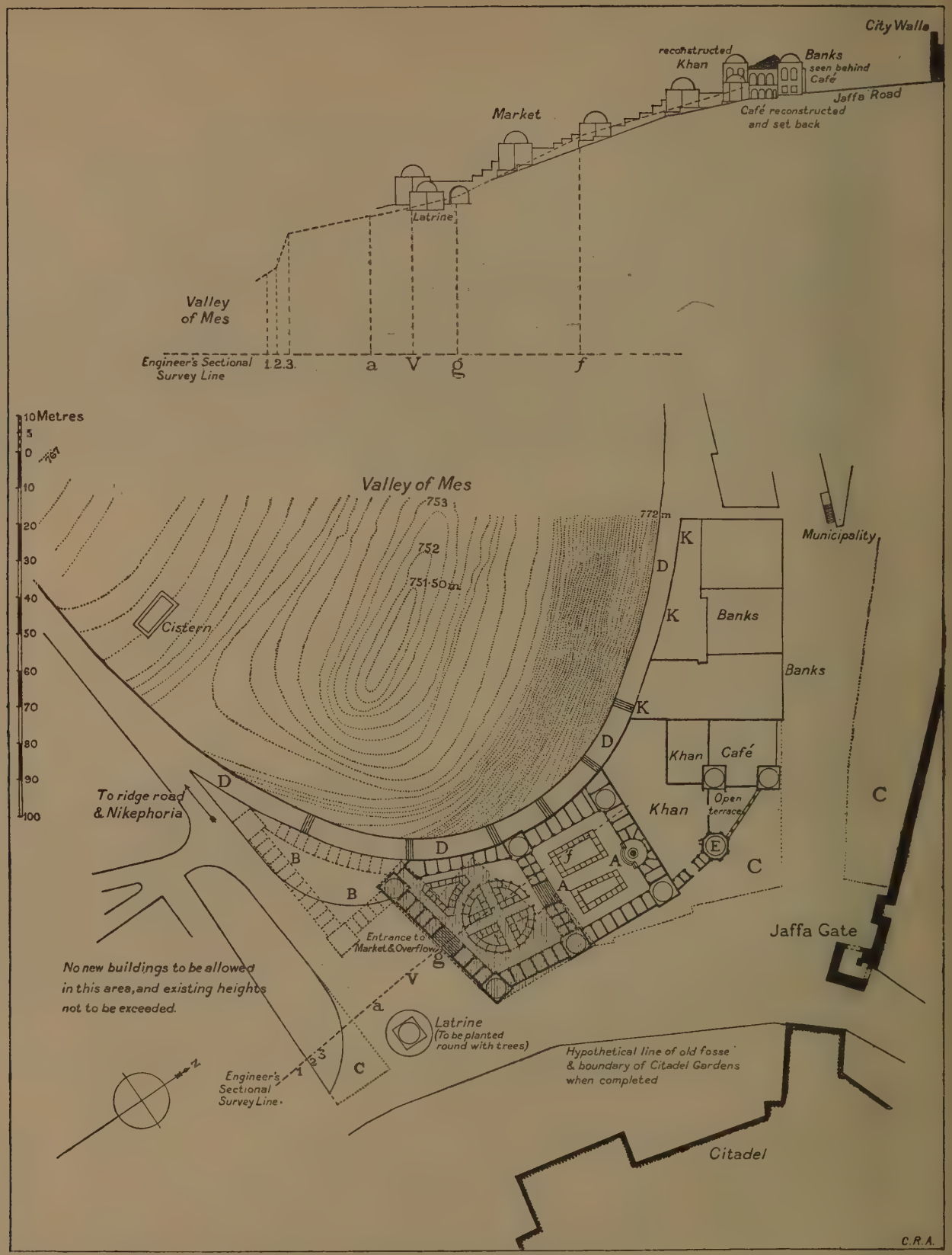
Jaffa Gate, showing the proposed alterations from the same point, with the reconstructed café and a low-built containing wall for a properly regulated market. No. 43.

Markets and Khans

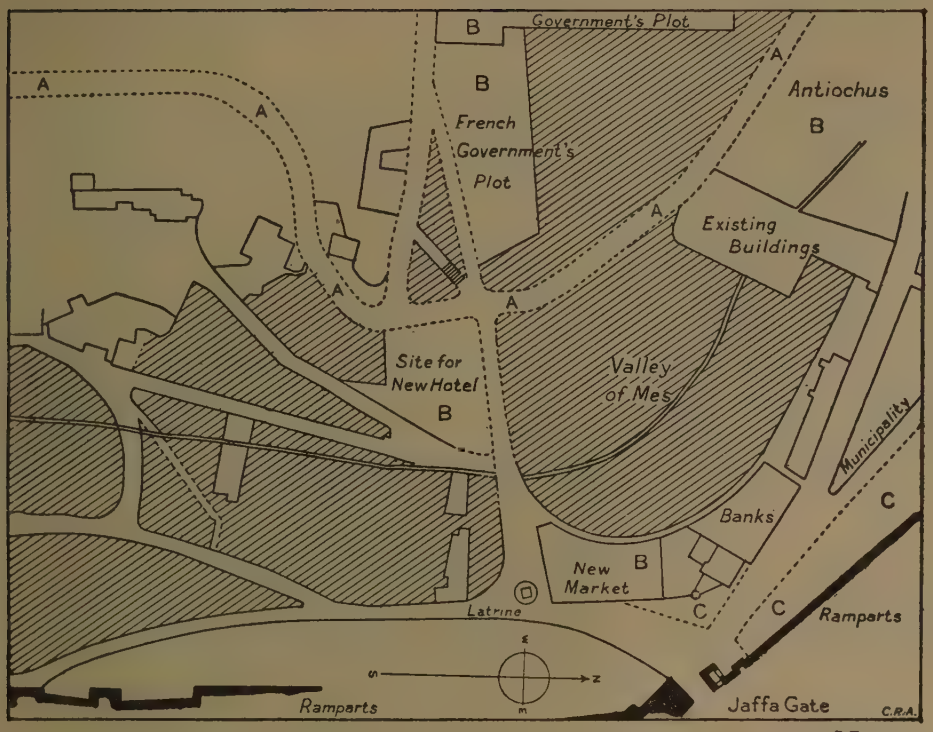
19. The work on the markets has progressed but slowly. There has been no money. And private enterprise does not move readily in a mould meant for public benefit ; but Mr. Valero, one of the owners of the Mahanna Yuda property, for which the designs were shown in Vol. I, p. 27, expressed his willingness to carry out the scheme, and the tenants of the miserable booths which still disgrace the entrance to the modern city from the Jaffa side have been given notice.

More important is the scheme I show of the Jaffa Gate Market, Illustration No. 40. Here the efforts of the Town Planning Commission, of the municipality, and the Pro-Jerusalem Society, are combined. The inception was with the latter. The Commission approved the scheme in principle ; the working out of the finance, in other words the collection and adjustment of the market dues that will cover the payment of interest on loan, is with the municipality.

When once the market is moved from the Citadel Fosse and the latter opened out the whole Jaffa Gate improvement scheme as shown in plans 40 and 41 will be within measurable distance of accomplishment. This market improvement project should, from the civic point of view, be studied in conjunction with the new ridge road that lies to the north, the Jewish scheme for the new business quarter of Antiochus that lies to the north-east of it, and the new hotel, the site of which will be seen to the north-west (B on No. 41). All around, from the present site of the banks and cafés (No. 42), which later might be rebuilt somewhat as shown in my illustration No. 43, should be reserved as open space or park land as already laid down in the general park plan in Vol. I, p. 19. Much of this has already, through financial necessity, being whittled away. If the great idea of the green belt, or what is left of it round the Holy City, is to be preserved, all ruksahs must in this area be jealously watched or refused altogether.



Jaffa Gate Maidan Improvement Scheme, with Market. **No. 40.**



No. 41.

A. *The New Ridge Road.*
B. *The Four new Building Reservations.*
Antiochus.
The Government's Plot.
The French Government's Plot.
The New Hotel.
The Market in front of Jaffa Gate.
C. *To be Expropriated.*

The object of this plan is to show that the land marked

and at present vacant should be kept clear of all building in order to preserve uninterrupted the view to and from the Jaffa Gate.

Key to No. 40.

The object of the whole scheme is:
1. *To give market accommodation.*
2. *To preserve the unique view from the Jaffa Gate.*
3. *To complete the Citadel garden.*
4. *To widen the Jaffa road at the dangerous points.*
5. *To clear away the present unsightly shanties.*

The shaded part on plan No. 40 *is the Baruchoff land it was agreed to expropriate for market purposes.*

A *represents later market-extension, to the N.*

B *represents possible extension to the S., or plantation.*

C *areas to be expropriated for road widening and for opening out the City wall.*

D *causeway (for foot traffic) with embankment wall, overlooking the valley of Mes, which is to remain open, or "park area."*

E *the old Turkish "sebil" to be replaced.*

K *suggested new permissible building line for Banks (but not to exceed existing heights).*

The Market is on two levels, and the accommodation given is:

*Lower Level—*4 *domed store-houses;* 28 *stone shops;* 54 *booths.*

*Upper Level—*4 *domed store-houses;* 28 *stone shops;* 40 *booths; a sebil and "mastaba" at the N. end.*

Interior mean width of stone-built shops, 3 *m.*

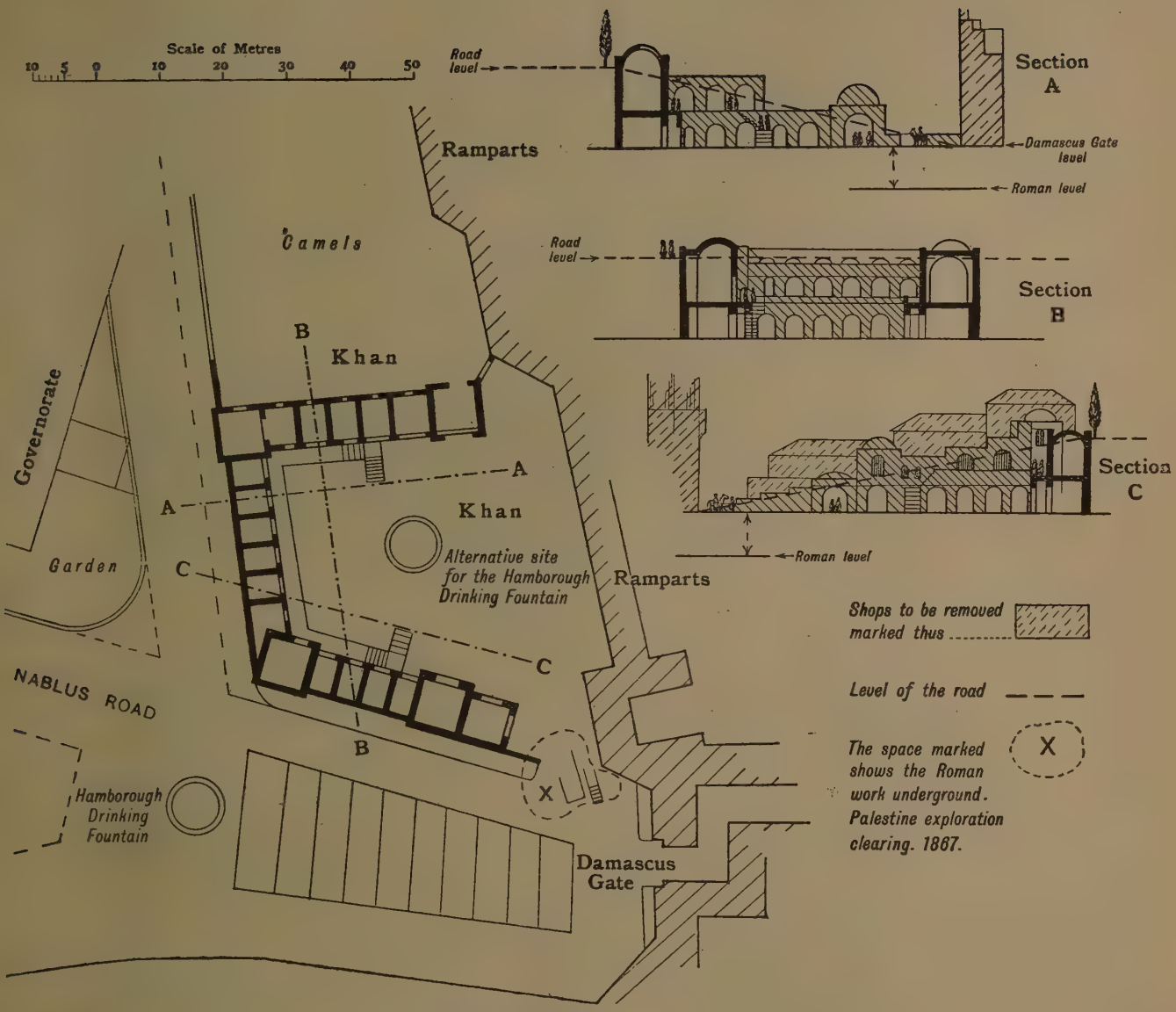
Interior mean width of stone-built stores, 5 *m.*

Interior span of domes, 5 *m.*

Mean width of wooden stalls (under tiled awning) 2 *m.* × 1½ *m.*

MARKETS AND KHANS

20. Closely akin to the schemes put up for market improvements in the city is that of the proposed Khan at Damascus Gate, immediately opposite the Governorate. The object here is not only to clear away the unsightly shops and corrugated iron buildings that obliterate the Damascus Gate, but also to accommodate the Bedouins and their camels that enter the city here in great numbers. The sketch plan (No. 44) shows what is proposed. Here, again, the Valero family, who, it is suggested, shall build and hold the Khan as a private undertaking, have evinced a sympathetic interest in the work. As the area of the proposed Khan is reserved and may not be further built on, and as the corrugated iron when it falls will not, under the ordinance, be renewed, it is to be hoped that in default of other more profitable ventures the building of the Khan will materialize.



The proposed Valero Khan at the Damascus Gate. *No.* 44.

The Naming of the Streets

21. The record of the civic work of the Pro-Jerusalem Council during the year 1922 would not be complete without an account of the street naming. A special sub-committee was, at the instance of his Excellency the High Commissioner, formed to undertake this most interesting and by no means easy task. The names had to be in the three official languages, and the three traditions, Christian, Moslem, and Jewish, had, so far as possible, to be preserved. Not only that, their connotations in the language in which they had no precise meaning had often to be sought out. Here was scope not only for scholarship but acute political division, and the sub-committee had on several occasions to be steered over very dangerous rocks. That was the work of the Assistant Governor, who was chairman of the sub-committee. I give here the first set of names that have been chosen and sanctioned up to the close of 1922. Forty-six in the old city and eighty in the new city were either named or numbered for naming, and the names in some cases were painted in ceramics, and set in the streets. The list is so full of history, poetry, and folk-lore that it is well worth careful study. Since 1922 the list as given below has been added to and amended in several respects.

THE OLD CITY (WITHIN THE WALLS)

1. New Gate	1. Al Bab al Jadid
2. David Street	2. Tariq Mehrab Daud
3. Street of the Chain	3. Tariq Bab al Selseleh
4. The Citadel	4. Maidan al Qal'ah
5. Cloth Merchants' Market	5. Sûq al Tujjar
6. Spice Market	6. Sûq al 'Attarin
7. Meat Market	7. Sûq al Lahhamin
8. Armenian Street	8. Haret al Arman
9. The Muristan	9. Al Marestan
10. Street of the Hospital	10. Tariq al Marestan
11. Citadel Lane	11. Haret al Qal'ah
12. Way of Zion Gate	12. Tariq al Nabi Daud
13. Honour Lane	13. Haret el Sharaf
14. Moorish Quarter	14. Haret al Magharbeh
15. Moorgate Street	15. Tariq Bab al Magharbeh
16. Tyropæum	16. Al Wad
17. Latin Convent Lane	17. Haret Dair al Ifranj
18. Khanqah Street	18. Hosh al Khaneqah
19. Damascus Gate Street	19. Tariq Bab al 'Amud
20. Our Lady's Street	20. Tariq Bab Sitti Mariam
21. Orthodox Convent Street	21. Haret Dair al Rum

22. Herod's Gate Street	22. Tariq Bab al Zahera
23. Sheikh Rihan's Way	23. Tariq al Shaikh Rihan
24. Christian Street	24. Haret al Nasara
25. Feather Lane	25. Haret al Risheh
26. Casa Nova Lane	26. Tariq al Casa Nuova
27. Street of the Latins	27. Tariq al Latin
28. Jews' Street	28. Haret al Yahud
29. El Medan	29. Haret al Maidan
30. Qaraite Street	30. Haret al Qaraim
31. Saadieh Stairs	31. Haret al Sa'diyeh
32. El Asali Street	32. Haret al 'Asali
33.	33.
34. Blacksmith's Lane	34. Haret al Haddadin
35. Bab Hetta Street	35. Haret Bab Hetta
36.	36.
37. Khan al Zeit	37. Khan al Zait
38. Water Melon Alley	38. 'Akabat al Battikha
39. Lentil Convent Lane	39. Sekket Dair al 'Adas
40. Al-Buraq Court	40. Hosh al Buraq
41. Cotton Gate	41. Sûq al Qattanin
42. Via Dolorosa	42. Tariq al Alam
43. Bezetha Street	43. Tariq Bait Zaita
44. Dancing Dervish Street	44. Tariq al Maulawiyeh
45. Jacobite Street	45. Tariq Dair al Surian
46. Stork Lane	46. Tariq Laqlaq.

THE NEW CITY (WITHOUT THE WALLS)

1. Jaffa Road	21. Street of Ezra
2. Nablus Road	22. Gaza Road
3. Jericho Road	23. Constantine's Way
4. Hebron Road	24. Moses Maimonides Street
5. Mamilla Road	25. Street of the Maccabees
6. St. Paul's Road	26.
7. Godfrey de Bouillon Street	27. Isaiah Street
8. Street of the Prophets	28. King George V Avenue
9. Tancred Lane	29. St. John the Baptist Street
10. Suleiman Road	30. Jeremiah Street
11. Allenby Square	31.
12. Herod's Way	32. Amos Road
13. Nehemiah Road	33. Ben Yehuda Street
14. Agrippa's Way	34. King Solomon Street
15. Street of Josephus	35.
16. St. Louis's Way	36. Hezekiah Street
17. Julian's Way	37.
18. Q. Melisande's Way	38.
19. Street of Baldwin I	39.
20. Ibn Batuta Street	40. St. George's Road

THE NAMING OF THE STREETS

THE NEW CITY (WITHOUT THE WALLS)—*Continued*

41. St. Stephen's Road
42. Cœur de Lion Street
43.
44.
45.
46.
47.
48.
49.
50.

TOWN PLAN, PART II

51. Saladin's Road
52. Al Mamun's Way
53. Al Mahdi's Way
54. Al Walid Road
55. Al Malik Road
56. Omar's Way
57. Way of Al Mansur
58. Selim I Road
59.
60. Qalaun's Way
61–65 (numbers reserved for unplanned streets)

TOWN PLAN, PART III

66. Unnamed for the present
67. " " "
68. " " "
69. " " "
70. " " "
71. " " "
72. " " "
73. " " "
74. Unnamed for the present
75. " " "
76. Ein Kerim Road
77. Reserved numbers for unplanned streets
78. " " "
79. " " "
80. " " "

New Industries, Educational Work and Exhibitions

22. The Society, during the two years under review, concentrated its effort on the three industries of weaving, ceramics, and glass. The inability of the Administration to carry out the Society's plan for the proposed Palestine School of Weaving, whose centre was to be in the Sûq al Qattanin, determined the Council to wind up its weaving apprentice contracts. The enterprise of the "Jerusalem looms" had either to develop by union with Mejdel and Gaza, become a Palestine industry, or contract into a purely Jerusalem undertaking. The latter as an endowed school seemed inadvisable, so it was decided to cancel the contract with Mr. Batato, arrange for a certain number of shops to be leased direct to the master weaver, and some of his boys, to retain the looms and plant for the future school of weaving, and to place out all the remaining apprentices.

23. In the craft of ceramics the Society, with the aid of the Department of Education, did a good deal to help the work of Mr. Ohanessian and the Armenian and Moslem industry of painted tile work for the Dome of the Rock.

The pergola in the Citadel Garden (Illustration No. 39) has been already referred to. This was in part the gift of an American lady, Miss Blandy. The names of the streets are also being painted in ceramics, and the Society was in great part responsible for the wedding present of a table centre, a miniature Dome of the Rock in blue faience, for Princess Mary, for which I made the designs.

The method adopted in regard to apprenticeship and training in the school of ceramics is much the same as it was in the "Jerusalem looms." The young men and women are indentured to learn the craft as far as possible right through. The supervision rests with the Department of Education, and the Department and the Society conjointly put up the money.

24. The craft of the Hebron glassblowers still hangs on by a thread. The Society in 1921 had a furnace erected in the Via Dolorosa, at the Dome of the Rock pottery, and got some of the Hebron craftsmen to work. An example of these experiments is shown below, in the work they did under my direction at Government House (see

Nos. 56 and 57). Some £E.50 or £E.60 was spent in this experiment, and it was one well worth making. It proved certain things essential to our knowledge before the revival of the craft of glass work could be seriously undertaken. First, that this craft was an integral part of the structure of Moslem agricultural society. The men work in short but intense spells for many hours at a stretch to retain the furnace at the necessary heat, and then alternate these periods with long stretches of work in the fields, adjusting their work at the craft to the Palestine season and the crops. It proved next, that the furnace, for economy and annealing capacity, had to be constructed of a certain size, the unitary workshop group being five or six men or boys in each; and that below this group it could not be made to work economically. And it proved, last, that the problem of fuel and its transport to Hebron and Jerusalem was not yet mastered. A knowledge of these preliminary conditions is needed to determine the capital or the basic organization required for the re-establishment of the craft. The necessary resources were not at the Society's disposal, but I am convinced it can be done. It is, first, a matter of intelligent administration, with a little financial backing by the Education Department. But it must be done soon. Since these lines were written the craftsmen who conducted the Society's experiment and did for me the work at Government House have left the country in search of work. There is now, they say, more "Baraka," that is the blessing of the Lord, in Constantinople than in Palestine.

25. The last enterprises of the Society to be reviewed in these pages are its exhibitions in the Citadel. These have, it is hoped, been a help in the education of the community. There were three during the two years, and all of considerable interest. The exhibition of the year 1921 was in part town planning and the crafts encouraged by the Society, in part ancient Moslem art, in part modern Palestinian effort. In 1922 the Society had a special show of Mr. Benton Fletcher's Jerusalem drawings. Some of these were prepared specially for the Society, and have been already referred to, and two (Nos. 26 and 31) are shown in these pages. This exhibition was followed by another dealing with the crafts and industries of Palestine, initiated by the Society, but conducted and financed under a special Commission appointed by the High Commissioner to investigate the crafts in relation to agriculture. The data provided by this exhibition and the

findings of the Commission are of profound interest and importance to the future of Palestine. Is the life to be agricultural or industrial? Can it be both? If not, to what extent is the former to be dependent upon western industrialism? The whole Zionist problem is involved in this, for it means the life of the Jewish colonies. Are they going to continue to be dependent on outside support? Will they develop mechanical power intelligently? will they practise by-crafts, as the Palestinian peasant has done for thousands of years? Here are not only vital problems in the theory of civics, the Zionist question itself is involved, and the Mandate for Palestine.

Finance

26. A word in conclusion as to the Society's finance. The Administration gives to the Society pound for pound of what it receives in subscriptions and donations. These during the year ending January 1922 amounted to £E.1,218, so that the income, exclusive of special grants for education or fresh subscriptions and donations, will for the current year be double that sum. As this record is taken up to the end of the second year of the Civil Administration, i.e. July 1, 1922, it is only possible to give complete accounts to the end of the year 1921. This I do below, showing how the money received by the Society was accounted for. An analysis of the monthly outlays is shown in the Appendix, No. 3.

CASH ACCOUNT

Receipts		Payments	
Balance in hand from January 1, 1921	£E.857	By total expenditure for the year	£E.5,276
By grants, subscriptions, and receipts from all sources ..	5,268	Balance in hand on December 31, 1921	„ 849
	6,125		6,125

The Society had liabilities in respect of payments still due before next 30 June, contracts with its apprentices, etc., amounting to about £E.500. It had assets in the capitalized value of its rent-bearing properties, its stocks of iron, wood, books, trees, nursery, glass, and museum objects, but of these none except the books and the glass are to be considered as marketable.

C. R. Ashbee.

Plan of the Holy City in the Thirteenth Century. *No. 45.*

L'État de la Cité de Jérusalem au XII^e Siècle

Par le Rév. Père F. M. Abel, O.P.

Pour se rendre compte de la physionomie de la Jérusalem médiévale il faut joindre à la lecture des itinéraires celle des descriptions, des chartes et des plans de l'époque des Croisades. Les itinéraires ou récits de voyage ne s'intéressant guère qu'aux choses du pèlerinage ne touchent qu'en passant à l'état de la ville. Leur témoignage n'est pas à dédaigner, mais ils demandent à être complétés par les esquisses techniques comme celle de " la Citez de Jherusalem " et les nombreuses allusions des actes publics que confirment dans les grandes lignes les relevés graphiques exécutés aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles. La présente description a pour objet de dresser le cadre de la ville sainte d'après les conclusions tirées de l'étude et de la comparaison des documents entre eux. Si pour l'une ou l'autre des identifications proposées et qu'on trouvera dans le plan ci-joint il est difficile d'arriver à une solution certaine, on s'est arrêté à l'approximation la plus stricte dans les cas douteux, qui sont d'ailleurs en infime minorité. C'est ainsi que nous pouvons présenter comme un résultat acquis l'ordre des portes et le réseau des rues principales à l'intérieur des remparts, car il n'entre pas dans notre dessein de franchir les limites de l'enceinte pour battre les chemins de la banlieue. Cet aperçu suffira pourtant à jeter quelque lumière sur la vie civile de cette période lointaine et fournira peut-être quelque inspiration en vue de la restauration de la Jérusalem moderne qui n'est autre que la cité médiévale, dégradée, déchue et ruinée. Il ne sera pas sans intérêt de constater que les dénominations passées dans l'usage d'alors se trouvaient logiquement fondées soit sur d'anciennes traditions, soit sur la présence d'un édifice connu, soit sur la proximité d'une corporation ou d'une colonie, constatation qui nous fait regretter davantage les modifications imposées à l'Onomastique de Jérusalem par la topographie arbitraire mise en vigueur au cours du XV^e siècle. Afin d'obtenir plus de clarté dans l'exposition nous traiterons successivement des portes de la ville, des quartiers, des rues,

des marchés, des hospices, des bains, des moulins et des fours, sans aborder la question des sanctuaires autrement qu'en relation avec les voies auxquelles ils communiquent leur vocable.

Portes.—En appelant *Porte David* l'entrée occidentale les médiévaux ne faisaient que conserver une appellation byzantine provenant de la proximité de la Citadelle qui était connue sous le nom populaire de Tour de David. La *Poterne Saint-Ladre*, ou *Saint Lazare*, que l'on rencontrait au nord tirait son nom du voisinage de la Maladrerie, ou léproserie située non loin de l'angle nord-ouest de la ville. Cette issue secondaire qui a été retrouvée murée dans le jardin des Pères Franciscains était encore en usage aux environs de 1500 avec le nom de " Porte du Couvent des Serbes." Les Serbes possédaient alors le monastère de Saint-Michel contigu à Saint-Sauveur. C'est aussi en conformité avec l'usage byzantin que le Moyen-âge donnait à la porte du nord (bâb el-'Amoud) le nom de *Porte Saint-Étienne*, parce qu'elle s'ouvrait dans la direction du lieu où la tradition primitive avait placé le martyre du premier diacre et sur lequel Eudocie avait achevé la basilique fondée par le patriarche Juvénal. Au XII^e siècle, une chapelle perpétuait ce même souvenir. Ce n'est que bien plus tard que ce vocable fut transféré à la porte de l'est par quelques Occidentaux, sans que toutefois fût abolie la mémoire de l'ancienne localisation. Au XVII^e siècle, le topographe Quaresmius sera contraint de déployer toute sa casuistique pour résoudre ce problème : *Porta sancti Stephani quomodo cum orientalis sit aquilonaris dici possit* ? Comment expliquer qu'une porte que les témoins antiques placent au nord puisse se trouver à l'orient ? La solution donnée est pitoyable, mais la confusion ne s'en est pas moins poursuivie jusqu'à nos jours en vertu de la tendance moutonnière des drogmans, des imprimeurs de cartes postales et des dresseurs de plans ignorant l'histoire et enclins au moindre effort. Les Juifs, si l'on en croit Benjamin de Tudèle, nommaient *Porte d'Abraham* la porte septentrionale, réservant le vocable de David à notre moderne Porte de Jaffa suivant la coutume générale. Il est à remarquer, en effet, qu'un plan du Moyen-âge place dans les environs une église Saint-Abraham.

Dans la muraille qui constituait un renforcement de l'angle nord-est du rempart, vis-à-vis de la brèche par laquelle Godefroy de Bouillon avait pénétré dans la ville, les documents signalent la présence de la *Poterne Sainte-Madeleine* qui ne donnait pas immédiatement dans

la campagne mais dans un espace resserré entre deux murs—" dont on ne povoit mie issir au chans, mais entre II murs aloit on." Elle avoisinait l'église jacobite de Sainte-Madeleine. Quant à l'entrée orientale, on l'appelait communément *Porte de Josaphat* tant chez les chrétiens que chez les juifs, en raison de sa position sur le bord de la vallée de Josaphat. Les itinéraires grecs lui donneront jusqu'à nos jours le vocable de *Porte de Gethsémani*, manifestant ainsi que toute autre appellation leur est étrangère.

La dénomination de *Poterne de la Tannerie* attribuée à la moderne bâb el-Moghârbeh venait de ce qu'elle s'ouvrait vers la piscine de Siloé dont l'eau était reconnue excellente pour tanner les cuirs. A la préparation des peaux qui se pratiquait encore au XV^e siècle en cet endroit, il faut ajouter la buanderie et l'irrigation des jardins, car l'eau de Siloé, peu recherchée comme boisson, ne servait guère qu'à l'industrie et à l'arrosage—" De celle aigue, tanoit l'on les cuirs de la cité, et si en lavoit l'on les dras, et en abevreit l'on les jardins, qui estoient desoz en la valée." La *Porte de Mont-Syon* se trouvait directement à l'extrémité des deux rues parallèles qui viennent du centre de la ville, de sorte que pour plus de commodité l'abbaye du Mont-Syon s'était fait accorder le droit de percer une porte supplémentaire à l'aboutissement de la rue des Arméniens. Cette dernière était dite *Porte de Belcayre*, soit à cause du grand square de l'angle sud-ouest du rempart (Bellum Quadrum), soit à cause de l'installation des gens de Baucaire aux abords de cet angle. On sait en effet que les gens de Raymond de Saint-Gilles, après avoir assiégé la ville de ce côté, avaient dû occuper cette région.

Quartiers.—S'il est difficile de tracer une ligne de démarcation bien définie entre les différents groupes ethniques qui peuplaient alors l'intérieur de la ville, il n'est pas impossible d'aboutir à une répartition générale tout en admettant sur certains points une compénétration inévitable due aux hasards de l'installation qui suivit la conquête, à des nécessités commerciales et aux exigences de l'association corporative ou de souvenirs religieux.

Deux quartiers considérables se partageaient le nord de la cité : celui du Patriarche limité par la rue David et la rue Saint-Étienne, et celui des Syriens ou Chrétiens indigènes sur la colline du Bézetha. Le *Quartier du Patriarche* répondait au quartier chrétien organisé sous Constantin Monomaque. Il contenait une quantité de petits

monastères grecs, et autres dont les vocables ont persisté jusqu'à nos jours. Autour du Saint-Sépulcre se pressaient le palais du Patriarche et les bâtiments du chapitre des Chanoines et, non loin de là, au midi, l'imposante maison des Hospitaliers, ou Chevaliers de Saint-Jean et les deux abbayes bénédictines : Sainte-Marie Latine et Sainte-Marie la Grande. Ce quartier était donc en grande partie ecclésiastique.

Les chrétiens de langue arabe occupaient la portion de la ville comprise entre le Haram et le rempart septentrional, quartier désigné sous le nom de *Juiverie*, sans doute parce que précédemment il abritait la petite colonie juive de Jérusalem. Mais on ne la trouve plus là au XII^e siècle. Les deux cents juifs qui exercent le métier de teinturiers dont ils ont le monopole sont alors confinés dans un coin de la ville sous la Tour de David.

Les Templiers et les moines de l'Abbaye du Temple se partageaient l'esplanade du Haram où s'élevaient leurs résidences, leur arsenal avec les écuries dans les substructions où l'on parvenait par des portes pratiquées dans le mur méridional. Des jardins occupaient les parties non dallées.

Au sud de la ville les *Hermins* ou Arméniens sont groupés à l'ombre de l'église de Saint-Jacques. Les Européens ou Francs habitent le quartier juif actuel, le centre de la ville et les abords du Haram. Dans la rue du Mont-Syon les chartes signalent les habitations de Guillaume Angevin, de Marie Lachevere, de Jean de Lisbonne, des sieurs Turoz, Mahafe, Litart, Jean Raimont ; dans la rue Saint-Martin : Richard Capons, Pierre Baron, Guillaume Tortuz, Étienne de Cahors, et dans les mêmes parages le Syrien Seyr et le médecin Bulfarage. On retrouve aussi des noms français dans la rue du Temple et sur la ligne nord du Haram. Les Allemands ont une rue et un hospice au plus haut point du quartier des synagogues actuel. Des Lombards et des Espagnols habitent aux environs du sérail turc. Benjamin de Tudèle est frappé de la multiplicité des langues qui se parlent, et Jean de Würzbourg se plaint qu'on ait fait la part trop petite aux Allemands dans une ville qu'occupent " Francs, Lorrains, Normands, Provençaux, Auvergnats, Italiens, Espagnols et Bourguignons." Parmi les privilèges accordés par le roi aux cités maritimes on compte la concession d'une rue aux Génois, aux Vénitiens, aux Pisans et aux Marseillais. Les chartes mentionnent en passant une rue d'Espagne ;

dans la foule des signatures de contrats nous remarquons celles de plusieurs Anglais.

Rues.—De la Porte David au Haram on suivait la *rue David* et la *rue du Temple* desquelles se détachaient perpendiculairement vers le sud la *rue des Hermins* (Arméniens), la *rue du Mont-Syon*, la *rue de l'Arc Judas* et la *rue aux Allemands*, ces deux dernières unies par la *rue Saint-Martin*. Du côté septentrional de l'artère David-Temple partaient la *rue du Patriarche*, et le triple bazar : *rues aux Herbes*, *rue Malcuisinat et rue Couverte* dont nous avons traité au volume précédent (No. 65), puis la *rue Saint-Julien* et la *rue des Pelletiers* qui passant sous la rue du Temple conduisait vers la Poterne de la Tannerie. Ce passage couvert nommé *le Pont* a été condamné sous les Mamelouks.

Au centre de la ville la *rue des Paumiers*, où des Syriens vendaient des cierges et des palmes que les pèlerins rapportaient comme souvenir de voyage, aboutissait au parvis du Saint-Sépulcre, tandis que la *rue du Sépulcre* passait au nord de la basilique desservant le prieuré et le patriarcat. Ces deux rues avaient leur point de départ sur la grande artère dite *rue Saint-Étienne*, aujourd'hui *Khân ez-Zeit*. Au côté opposé, c'est-à-dire à l'est, s'amorçaient la *rue du Maréchal* (1) qui se confondait avec la *rue Sainte-Anastasie*, la rue *Saint-Jean l'Évangéliste* et la *rue Saint-Cosme* appelée à faire partie, plus tard, de la voie Douloureuse.

La *rue de Josaphat* aboutissait à la porte du même nom. La *rue du Repos* tirait son nom de la proximité du moustier érigé sous ce vocable à l'Antonia.

Il y a plus de difficulté à identifier les rues concédées aux cités maritimes ou à d'autres nationalités comme la rue d'Espagne que l'on trouve en relation avec Saint-Jean l'Évangéliste. Ainsi en va-t-il pour celles qui ne sont désignées que par le nom d'un notable qui y possédait sa demeure telles que la *rue de Girard Lissebonette*, *la rue de Romain du Puy*, *la rue de Lauremer*, etc.

Marchés.—A l'intérieur de la Porte David s'étendait la *Place au blé*, vaste espace réservé à la vente des céréales et dont *la Fonde*, ou khân servant de Chambre de commerce, n'était pas éloignée. Les villes de la côte n'étaient pas les seules à jouir de cette institution composée de jurés Syriens et Francs. Un acte d'Amaury I, en 1173,

(1) La rue *Marzbân* de Moudjir ed-Dîn.

mentionne la Fonde de Naplouse " Funda Neapolitana," une charte de 1114, celle de Jérusalem (1).

A l'ombre des abbayes du Mauristân se trouvait le *Marché* principal " où on vendoit les œs (œufs), les fromages, les poules et les oisiaux " ; les vendeurs de poissons avaient également leur place. Tout autour s'alignaient les échoppes des orfèvres latins et des orfèvres syriens. Le triple bazar parallèle, à peu de distance de là, abritait les marchands de légumes, les cuisiniers-traitants, les coiffeurs et les drapiers. Deux banques, l'une à chaque extrémité, facilitaient les transactions : le *Change Latin* et le *Change Syrien.*

Bouchers, écorcheurs, cordonniers bordaient la rue du Temple au sud de laquelle, dans les terrains vagues, on trouvait la *Buflerie* ou marché aux bestiaux. Dans la rue voisine les pelletiers préparaient peaux et fourrures. Plus proche du Saint-Sépulcre les Syriens vendaient leurs draps et fabriquaient des cierges sous une roue voûtée. Les boutiques des bazars étaient désignées sous le nom de *stationes.* Le Saint-Sépulcre en fit construire de nouvelles au Khân ez-Zeit ; Sainte Anne et le Temple en possédaient au centre de la ville.

Moulins et Fours.—Un recensement des revenus de l'Hôpital (1170) fait allusion à un moulin à huile de la rue Saint-Étienne (Khân ez-Zeit, ou khân de l'huile)—*molendinum olivarum in ruga S. Stephani.* Des moulins à blé se trouvaient en ville concédés à l'abbaye de Josaphat. Les Hospitaliers avaient aussi le leur. Celui de Saint-Lazare près la Tour de David fut enlevé par la reine Mélissende en 1151 comme nuisible à la Porte et à la Tour. Sur le côté droit de la rue du Temple on voyait la maison du minotier Léger.

Les fours sont disséminés par toute la ville. Sauf deux qui sont la propriété des Hospitaliers et un appartenant à la Latine, ils relèvent tous du Saint-Sépulcre. On les signale dans la rue David, devant la porte de Saint-Jacques, devant la résidence de Rohard le châtelain de la Tour, en face de l'église Saint-Martin, dans la rue du Mont-Syon, vis-à-vis de l'église Saint-Thomas des Allemands, devant Saint-Gilles vers le Pont, devant la Boucherie, vers la Tannerie, dans les rues Malcuisinat, d'Anastasie et du Repos, trois au quartier syrien (Juiverie) : à Saint-Hélie, à Sainte-Agnès, et celui de Martin Karaon ; d'autres dans les rues de Girard de Lisbonne, de Tremailes et de Saint-Étienne,

(1) Le patriarche percevait les dîmes de la Fonde, qui appartenait à son quartier. Un plan médiéval situe une église Saint-Georges *in Funda* près de la Place au blé.

près de Saint-Chariton, devant la porte du Saint-Sépulcre, près de Saint-Pastor.

Hospices, Bains, etc.—Les pèlerins latins trouvaient aisément à loger dans les vastes salles de l'Hôpital Saint-Jean qui recevait aussi les pauvres et les malades. Les abbayes avaient également leurs hôtelleries où les voyageurs étaient hébergés. Un plan de 1180 marque deux tavernes sur la rue du Mont-Syon. Les Hongrois avaient un pied-à-terre à quelque distance au nord du Saint-Sépulcre, les Allemands à Sainte-Marie sur la rue qui portait leur nom. Les Orientaux devaient se loger dans leurs quartiers, autour de leurs églises, les Arméniens à Saint-Jacques, les Jacobites à Sainte-Madeleine, les Grecs à la métochie de Saint-Sabas près la Tour de David ou encore à l'hospice dépendant du monastère du Sinai.

Une bulle de 1179 fait mention des bains (*balnea*) que possède l'abbaye du Mont-Syon à l'intérieur des murs. Les restes d'une installation balnéaire retrouvés en 1870 du côté de bâb es-Silsileh nous reportent au bain signalé en 1229 à proximité de la Boucherie. Les bains du Patriarche alimentés par l'eau du birket Hammâm el-Batrak (lac des bains du Patriarche) sont encore bien connus quoique abandonnés. Aux abords de l'église Saint-Martin il existait aussi un bain. Les autres n'ont aucune mention spéciale.

La porcherie du Patriarche confinait des terrains vagues situés vers l'angle nord-ouest du côté de la Tour de Tancrède.

Près de la Porte Saint-Étienne on marque un *palatium* appartenant à Sainte-Marie Latine. Quant au palais royal et à la citadelle nous n'avons rien à ajouter à ce qui a été dit au volume précédent, No. 61.

Les voûtes de certaines rues apparaissent à maintes reprises dans les chartes, en particulier celles du Change de l'Hôpital, de Robert, de Roger l'Anglais sur la rue du Temple, de Sainte-Marie la Petite dans la rue des Drapiers, et sous les maisons de Robert le Hongrois. " Presque toutes les rues, écrit Théodoric en 1172, sont construites dans le bas avec de grandes dalles, au-dessus la plupart ont des voûtes de pierre, percées de jours de distance en distance. Les maisons élevées en appareil soigné se terminent non pas avec des toits inclinés comme chez nous, mais avec des terrasses planes, propres à recevoir l'eau des pluies que l'on recueille dans des citernes pour l'usage des habitants qui n'usent pas d'autre eau. Les bois propres à l'industrie ou au chauffage sont chers, car le Liban, qui seul abonde en cèdres, en cyprès et en pins,

est trop éloigné et les embuscades des ennemis en rendent l'accès impossible." Les observations de Rey (*Les Colonies Franques de Syrie*, p. 238) sur l'état forestier de la Syrie et de la Palestine corrigent ce que cette dernière réflexion d'un voyageur de passage présente de trop absolu.

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Extracts from the Diary of a Franciscan Pilgrim of the 16th Century

Contributed by H. C. Luke

Note.—The hitherto unpublished Latin manuscript, from which I translate the following extracts concerning Jerusalem, came into my possession some twelve years ago. The manuscript, which is entitled "A Pilgrimage from Rome to Jerusalem," is unsigned and undated, but, from internal evidence, must have been written somewhere about 1560. All that the manuscript reveals of its author is that he was a member of the Franciscan Order and a native of Italy.—H. C. L.

"Having arrived in the Holy City of Jerusalem we were lodged with the friars of St. Francis, on Mount Zion, although not in the convent, from which our friars have been expelled. The Turks and the Moors occupy that place as a mosque, together with the Holy Cænaculum and the Chapel of the Holy Ghost, which descended upon the Apostles on the day of Pentecost. The sites of other miracles, which took place on Mount Zion, are also in the hands of the Turks; and then they took the Cænaculum and the Chapel of the Holy Ghost, and, eight years later, the cloister. In the year 1552 they seized, a little at a time, the whole of the monastery and large church which was situated at the side of the Cænaculum, on the very spot where Christ said to Thomas, *Infer manum tuam.* Behind the convent there is a stone, set in a wall so that it may not be lost, which is said to have been transported by an angel from Mount Sinai. Close by the place where stood this church are many other holy sites, such as the place where the Virgin Mary passed from this life to the other; where she was anointed; where the Apostle John the Evangelist celebrated mass. Some say that the Virgin Mary lived in these buildings for fourteen years after Christ's Ascension. Here, too, is the place where St. James the Less was elected Bishop of Jerusalem; the place where the lot for the Apostolate fell upon Matthias; where Christ sent the Apostles out to preach; where St. Stephen the Protomartyr was buried by his followers after he had been stoned, although his body, with that of St. Lawrence, lies in Rome, without the walls. Many other wonders took place in this church, of which vestiges still remain. The Cæna-

culum and the Chapel of the Holy Ghost were at the side of the said church, somewhat higher up. We there observed a stone commemorating the spasm of the Blessed Virgin, who was as though dead when she saw her Son despised upon the cross. This stone was preserved and carried into the said monastery ; and, so that it should not be lost, the friars took care to place it in the lintel of one of the doors of the monastery.

" Beyond Mount Zion, by the city wall, is to be seen the place where the Jews wished to stop the coffin containing the body of the Blessed Virgin when the Apostles were carrying her to burial in the Valley of Jehoshaphat ; but, as they did so, their arms and hands became rigid. At that time this place and the Mount were within the city. Ascending in this direction we found the cave where Peter wept bitterly after having denied Jesus Christ. From this place is seen the brook Kidron, which is now spanned by a small stone bridge. From this bridge, towards the upper part of the valley, begins the Valley of Jehoshaphat, which is not very long nor very wide : it is perhaps a mile in length and a stone's throw, or perhaps a little more, in width. Below the bridge is the Valley of Siloam. In this brook the poor friars have been living, since their expulsion in 1552, in the place where stood their bakery. Here they celebrate, eat, and sleep, and bake the bread for themselves and for the religious of the Holy Sepulchre and of Bethlehem. These are things that would provoke tears if they were taken more deeply into consideration by our superiors and by the Pope. If the Almighty had not provided, everything would have been taken away from them. The monastery of Mount Zion stands outside the city ; we were accommodated in a place close to it, also outside the city, because the Turk, in the year 1548, caused the city to be enclosed within a new wall, changing the line of the old one. Thus the city has been contracted on the south, where is Mount Zion, and enlarged towards the north ; and so the convent of Mount Zion, which was formerly within the city, is now outside it. The converse is the case of the Holy Sepulchre, which once was without, but is now within, the city, together with Mount Calvary.

" Having obtained permission from the Saracen monks who, against money, give permission to enter by night the convent of Mount Zion, and having received the keys, we were able, together with the monks, to visit the Holy Cænaculum, where Jesus Christ supped with

His disciples, where He instituted the Sacrament of the Eucharist, and where He washed the feet of the Apostles. There is still to be seen the stone marking the place where Jesus pronounced that divine discourse after the supper (John xiii., *sqq.*) ; now the Cænaculum is a Saracen mosque. Above the Cænaculum is the Chapel of the Holy Ghost. In the middle is a wall which the Saracens have discovered. The Cænaculum is eleven paces long and seven paces wide. Below the Cænaculum we saw the cell where the Virgin Mary lived for several years after the ascension of Christ into heaven, and another, which housed St. John the Evangelist. David and Solomon are said to lie buried in an underground place ; we know from Holy Writ that their sepulchre is on Mount Zion (3 Kings ii. and xi. : *Sepultus est in ciuitate David patris sui*). For this reason the Saracens consider us unworthy of [owning] these places, where lie buried their Patriarchs David and Solomon ; for they hold the Patriarchs in great esteem, making them to be descended from the race of Mohammed. On this account they took away the holy monastery, having obtained it from the Grand Turk. In the year of the capture of the island of Rhodes [1521] there was only water in the brook when it rained. At the brook is a tomb, which some say is that of Absalom, others that of King Jehoshaphat, whence the valley is called the Valley of Jehoshaphat. Close to it is the valley and the garden of Gethsemane, and, near by in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, the tomb of the Blessed Virgin Mary, within a church. Twenty paces from this church, on Olivet, is a cave where Christ prayed many times and sweated drops of blood for us. It is a holy underground place, down which one descends eight steps ; almost in the middle is an open hole and within are pillars carved of the very rock of the cave. Here mass is said at times, especially in Holy Week. In these places there are many indulgences. By the entrance to Gethsemane is the place where Christ left the eight apostles and took with Him the other three, namely Peter, James, and John, and after a little while enjoined them to stop and watch while He went to the aforesaid cave and prayed to the Father.

. . . . . .

" Before the entrance to the Holy Sepulchre each pilgrim pays nine *castellani* ; then come four or five Turkish officials to open the gate, together with their scribe, and when they have taken the names of

the pilgrims and of their countries and have increased the amount of the fee, they open the gate with much to-do with their keys, taking away the seal. Having entered, we saluted the religious who live therein, and, all together, preceded by the cross, went in procession to visit the holy places in this great church, the friars at every holy place saying the appropriate prayers, followed by an antiphon. The Turks then closed and sealed the gate and went away, not returning until the next day or two days after. In the meantime the pilgrims consoled themselves with many visits to the holy places, above all to the Holy Sepulchre of Christ, a spot worthy of all veneration. . . . This sepulchre is built from east to west, for, when the sun rises, it enters by the larger chapel through the aforesaid door of the Holy Sepulchre. In the edicule, which, as I have said, is square (although the inside chapels are almost round), is a small chapel belonging to the Coptic Christians. . . . In perambulating the church, which is very large, we visited the green (1) stone on which Christ was anointed after His death. Close to this is the place where the Virgin Mary, with the other women, watched from afar when they placed Jesus Christ upon the cross ; it is distant a good stone's throw from Calvary. Afterwards we visited Mount Calvary, ascending to it by nineteen steps. There is the chapel where Jesus was crucified upon the cross. This chapel belongs to the friars of St. Francis. There are many lamps in the place, and beside it is the place where the cross was erected and placed in the hole, which is now to be seen surrounded with silver. The hole in the rock is a cubit in depth and a hand's breadth in width ; it is round. This chapel belongs to the Greeks. At the sides of the holes are two columns, showing where were set up the crosses of the thieves. To the right of the chapel is the rock which was rent when Christ died : *quia petræ scissæ sunt.* Underneath this same chapel, almost below the hole of the cross, is the place where was found the head of Adam, and the rent in the rock comes down as far as here. Having descended from Mount Calvary we saw six or seven tombs of Kings of this city, among them that of Godfrey of Bouillon, and of King Baldwin. . . . Around the church live the representatives of all the Christian nations, who have their special places and their lamps here ; those who live here are either priests or members of religious orders. First come the friars of St. Francis ; secondly, the Greeks ;

(1) The present Stone of Unction is a slab of pink marble.—H. C. L.

thirdly, the Syrians; fourth, the Jacobites; fifth, the Georgians; sixth, the Abyssinians; seventh, the Copts; eighth, the Nestorians; ninth, the Armenians. Our friars of the Holy Sepulchre own twelve lamps in the chapel [of the Holy Sepulchre], and the other nations have also some."

H. C. Luke.

The Christian Communities in the Holy Sepulchre

By H. C. Luke

Among the features which separate the Church of the Holy Sepulchre from the other sanctuaries of Christendom is the fact that it is not served by a single community, but is shared by many Christian denominations. This circumstance has been the controlling element in its history since the end of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem. Its annals are primarily concerned with the claims to its shrines and chapels of the Churches of East and West, and with the fluctuations of their boundaries within its walls. In the following pages I have attempted to give a very rapid yet continuous survey of this aspect of the Holy Sepulchre's history: a comprehensive one would easily fill several volumes. It will involve, when it comes to be undertaken, not only a study of the countless works, both manuscript and printed, of the pilgrims and other travellers, who in the course of seven centuries have written accounts of the Holy Sepulchre; it will also necessitate a critical examination of many Firmans in Arabic, in Turkish, and in the Tataro-Arabic jargon employed by some of the Caucasian Mamelukes of Egypt, which the Moslem rulers of Palestine granted to the several communities in the Holy Sepulchre. The circumstance that these Firmans are not infrequently in contradiction with one another will not lighten the difficulties of the Holy Places Commission, when that body is constituted and has begun to address itself to the prosecution of its task.

In 1009, when Palestine lay within the dominions of the Fatimite Khalifs of Egypt, the eccentric and tyrannical Khalif Hakim bi-amr-Illah ordered the destruction of the group of buildings, whose successors were subsequently to be united into the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The buildings of Constantine, as restored by the Patriarch Modestus after their sack by the Persians in 614, were razed to the ground, or almost to the ground; only those parts of the foundations "whose demolition was difficult" and whose stones "could not be torn out without much trouble" (1) were suffered to remain. Eleven years later the Patriarch Nicephorus, who had previously been a carpenter

(1) Yahia Ibn Sa'id, quoted by Vincent and Abel, *Jerusalem*, vol. ii., p. 249.

in Hakim's employ, made use of his acquaintance with the Khalif to secure permission for the Christians to resume their services " suivant n'importe quel rite ou n'importe quelle croyance . . . dans l'enceinte dite de l'église de la Qiâmeh et sur ses ruines " (1). Finally, twenty-nine years after its destruction, the Church of the Anastasis—that is, the Church surmounting the Tomb of the Saviour—was restored at the expense of the Emperor Constantine Monomachus. The restoration of Monomachus did not extend to the Martyrium, that is to say, to the buildings which had been erected over the sites of our Lord's Passion ; it was left to the Crusaders, after the establishment of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, to unite Anastasis and Martyrium, together with their dependent chapels and shrines, into one comprehensive cathedral. Partly by utilizing and adapting the existing buildings, mostly by new constructions, they left a church which to some extent in fabric, wholly in outline, is the Church of the Holy Sepulchre as we know it to-day.

While we read that, in the new cathedral, the Orthodox retained their former altar under the Triumphal Arch (2) together with the chapel in which was preserved their reliquary of the True Cross (3), and that the Armenians owned a chapel just within St. Mary's Gate (4), that mediæval porch, now walled up, which is situated in Christian Street immediately to the north of the present police post, the Latins were paramount in the church during the existence of the Latin Kingdom. Nevertheless, even at this time, most of the Eastern Churches celebrated their services under the roof of the Holy Sepulchre. In his *Libellus de Locis Sanctis* (5) the monk Theodoric, writing about 1172, gives the following account of the arrangements then in force: " Before the door of the choir is an altar of no small size, which, however, is only used by the Syrians (6) in their services. When the daily Latin services are over the Syrians are wont to sing their hymns either there outside the choir, or in one of the apses of the church ; indeed, they have several small altars in the church, arranged and devoted to their own peculiar use. These are the religious sects which celebrate divine service in the church at Jerusalem: the Latins, Syrians,

(1) Vincent and Abel, *vol. cit.*, p. 250.
(2) *Ibid.*, p. 266.
(3) *Ibid.*, pp. 269–70.
(4) *Ibid.*, p. 269.
(5) English version published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, London, 1891.
(6) Theodoric distinguishes between the Orthodox Arabs and the Orthodox Greeks.

Armenians, Greeks (1), Jacobites, and Nubians. All these differ from one another in language and in their manner of conducting divine service. The Jacobites use trumpets on their feast days, after the fashion of the Jews."

The Crusaders lost Jerusalem to Saladin in 1187, regained it under the Emperor Frederick II for the decade 1229–1239, and after that held it no more, although the Latin Kingdom maintained its foothold in the Holy Land until Acre, its last outpost, fell to the Mameluke Melek al-Ashraf in 1291. After 1239 the Saracens took control of the Holy Sepulchre, and gave the custody of its keys to the two Moslem families whose descendants still retain it. The end of undisputed Latin supremacy in the Holy Sepulchre synchronized with the end of Latin rule in Jerusalem ; by the consent of the Moslem rulers, given in accordance with the ability to pay the heavy fees which they exacted, the Eastern Churches now secured their shares in the fabric (2). The Latin clergy were not expelled from the church, but by 1333 the Augustinian Canons of the Latin Kingdom are replaced by the Franciscans, who are henceforth the representatives of Latin Christianity in the Holy Sepulchre. By 1335 three Orthodox monks are established within it (3), and are soon followed by representatives of the other Eastern Churches, who, as we have seen from the extract from Theodoric's *Libellus* quoted above, were celebrating their services in it two centuries previously. The small chapel then known as St. Mary of Golgotha (now St. Mary of Egypt), which is the lower of the two chapels that occupy the projecting building in the north-east corner of the parvis, belonged to the Abyssinians (and is now Orthodox); the chapel of St. Michael (now in the hands of the Copts), which adjoins it on the south, then belonged to the Georgians, or, according to some authorities, to the Jacobites ; that of St. John the Baptist, now St. James (the southern neighbour of St. Michael), belonged then, as it does now, to the Armenians. Ludolf of Sudheim, in 1348, finds " Latins, Greeks, Armenians, Nubians, Syrians and Georgians " in occupation, and also mentions the Nestorians—as *pessimi heretici.*

Notwithstanding the fact that the Holy Sepulchre was now

(1) Theodoric distinguishes between the Orthodox Arabs and the Orthodox Greeks.

(2) *Cf.* Jeffery, *A Brief Description of the Holy Sepulchre, etc.*, Cambridge, 1919, pp. 30–31.

(3) Vincent and Abel, *vol. cit.*, p. 291.

accessible to all Churches, the Latins were still able, in the fifteenth century, to maintain a predominant position, largely thanks to the protection afforded to them by the Dukes of Burgundy. The man who obtained for them this assistance was the Burgundian knight Bertrandon de la Brocquière, perhaps the most interesting of the travellers and pilgrims of the fifteenth century. This nobleman, who visited Jerusalem in 1432, was esquire carver to the Duke of Burgundy, and it was his account of the condition of the Christians in the Holy Land that led his master to exert himself to fortify the position of the Latins in the Holy Sepulchre. De la Brocquière's description of his travels (1), while full of life and picturesque detail, is marked by accuracy and good sense, and betrays none of the credulity of so many of his predecessors. This is his account of the various branches of Christianity which he found in the Holy Sepulchre: "Among the free Christians there are but two Cordeliers who inhabit the Holy Sepulchre, and even they are oppressed by the Saracens; I can speak of it from my own knowledge, having been witness of it for two months. In the Church of the Holy Sepulchre reside also many other sorts of Christians, Jacobites, Armenians, Abyssinians from the country of Prester John, and Christians of the girdle; but of these the Franks suffer the greatest hardships."

Largely in consequence, no doubt, of the efforts of the Duke of Burgundy, the Latins improved their position to such an extent that before the end of the century they held the keys of the chapel surmounting the Tomb itself (2), and, among other shrines, the chapel of St. Mary and an altar on Calvary. The Chorus Dominorum and the Prison of Christ belonged as now to the Orthodox. In the Chapel of Calvary the Georgians took the place of the Armenians, who acquired instead a portion (which they still hold) of the galleries in the Rotunda. The Dominican Felix Faber of Ulm, in his discursive *Evagatorium* (3), whose epistle dedicatory is dated 1484, assigns to the Georgians Calvary and the chapel beneath it, together with the chapel of the

(1) Included, in an English version, in Wright, *Early Travels in Palestine*, London, 1848.

(2) Having dispossessed the Georgians, who held them at the time of the pilgrimage of Ludolf of Sudheim.

(3) Translated and published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, 2 vols., London, 1892.

Invention of the Cross ; to the Jacobites the Stone of Unction and " a small chapel adjoining the Lord's monument " ; to the Abyssinians the Chapel of Derision, which is now in the hands of the Orthodox (1).

Two other fifteenth-century pilgrims deserve special notice in this connexion. The Franciscan Francesco Suriano, who was subsequently to become, for two periods, " Guardian of Mount Zion," that is to say, the head of the Franciscan Missions in the Holy Land, completed the first text of his *Trattato* (2) in 1485. In the twenty-third chapter of Golubovich's edition, which reproduces the second of the three texts of the *Trattato*, Suriano enumerates ten partners in the Holy Sepulchre, namely, Latins, Maronites, Greeks, Georgians, Abyssinians, Copts, Jacobites, Syrians or Christians of the Girdle, Armenians, and Nestorians ; and in the ten subsequent chapters he gives a mass of interesting (also outspoken and, it is to be feared, at times uncharitable) particulars of each. He does not, as a rule, define the portions of the Holy Sepulchre occupied by the several Churches, being more concerned with the " putrid heresies " of those not in communion with Rome ; but of the Nestorians, concerning whom the notices of mediæval writers in this connexion are scantier than are those dealing with the other Eastern Churches (3), he says that they own an altar by what is now the sacristy of the Franciscans.

In the interesting description (4) of his pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1494 Pietro Casola, Canon of Milan Cathedral, enumerates nine communities as sharing the ownership of the Holy Sepulchre, namely, Latins, Greeks, Georgians, Armenians, Abyssinians, Syrians, Maronites, Jacobites, and people whom he calls Golbites. He describes the Orthodox occupancy of the Chorus Dominorum, and states that the chapel of the Jacobites is behind the Tomb itself ; while Calvary belongs to the Georgians and the Chapel of Derision to the Abyssinians. He finds the Armenians in possession of a " chapel which goes down by many steps under Mount Calvary "—perhaps meaning thereby the

(1) *Cf.* vol. i., pp. 431–439.

(2) *Il Trattato di Terra Santa e dell' Oriente*, edited by Father G. Golubovich, O.F.M., Milan, 1900.

(3) For the Nestorians in the Holy Sepulchre, *cf.* also Amico, *Trattato delle Piante . . . di Terra Santa*, p. 32.

(4) Margaret Newett, *Canon Pietro Casola's Pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the year 1494*, Manchester University Press, 1907.

Chapel of St. Helena. By " Golbites " the Canon presumably means the Copts.

Although Casola does not, as do some of the pilgrims, assign a part of the Holy Sepulchre to the " Christians of the Girdle," he refers to them on several occasions in the course of his narrative as having communities in Jerusalem, Ramleh, and elsewhere in Palestine. It may not be out of place, therefore, to ask ourselves who exactly were these people, these *Christiani della cintura*. Most of the mediæval authors refer to them as if they were a sect apart. Thus Sir John Maundeville, no very reliable guide, it is true, in enumerating the sects of Syria and Palestine, says: " There are others who are called Christians of the girdle, because they are all girt above." Roberto da Sanseverino, writing of Jerusalem in 1458, states that " the Christians of the Girdle are so called because their ancestors were converted by the miracles performed by Saint Thomas the Apostle with the girdle of the glorious Virgin Mary, which he received from her when she ascended into heaven. In remembrance of this, and in sign of devotion, when they enter the churches for worship, they put on a girdle made like those sold for the measure of the Holy Sepulchre. According to what people say the girdle they wear is exactly like that of the glorious Virgin." Similar accounts are given by Santo Brasca and other pilgrims (1) ; while Faber goes yet farther astray in blending Georgians, Nubians, and " Christians of the Cincture " into one impossible identity. Suriano is nearer the truth when he describes the eighth in his list of sects in the Holy Sepulchre as *Syriani, zioè christiani de la centura*. And Bertrandon de la Brocquière, who, as we have seen, includes them among the tenants of the Sepulchre, also refers to them, as does Casola, as inhabiting villages in Palestine. No foreign eastern sect would then be mingled with the local population in Palestinian villages ; and it may be assumed with safety that the " Christians of the Girdle " were none other than the local native Orthodox Christians, the people who would now be described as the Arabophone flock of the Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem. The mediæval writers almost invariably distinguish between the Orthodox Arabs on the one hand, and their hierarchy and monks in the Holy Sepulchre, who were mainly Greeks by race, on the other. The appellation " of the Girdle " may have originated from the edict issued by the

(1) Casola, p. 386, note 77.

persecuting Khalif Mutawakil in A.D. 856, whereby Christians and Jews in his dominions were ordered to wear broad girdles of leather.

The sixteenth century witnesses the beginning of a change in the balance of power in the Holy Places. The conquest of Palestine by Sultan Selim I in 1517 from the Mameluke rulers of Egypt and the incorporation of the country within the Ottoman Empire inaugurates a renaissance of Orthodox influence at the expense of the Latins; and the Franciscans in Jerusalem are beset in the course of the century with many difficulties, such as the loss of the Cænaculum in 1547.

In the Holy Sepulchre the position is not materially altered, but in 1537 (or 1571) (1) the Copts erected a small chapel back to back with that covering the Tomb (2). This chapel shared the fate of the Rotunda in the fire of 1808, but, with it, was afterwards rebuilt in its present form. The anonymous sixteenth-century Franciscan, from whose manuscript description of the Holy Places I have translated extracts in the previous chapter, enumerates, as we have seen, the Latins, Greeks, Syrians, Jacobites, Georgians, Abyssinians, Copts, Nestorians, and Armenians as the occupants of the church.

An informative description of the Holy Sepulchre and its communities in the latter half of the sixteenth century is given by the Dutch traveller Dr. Leonhart Rauwolff (3), who visited Jerusalem in 1575. As permanent denizens of the Holy Sepulchre Rauwolff mentions the Latins, Abyssinians, Greeks, Armenians, Georgians, Nestorians, Syrians, and "Jacobites or Golti." It is to be noted that by "Syrians" he means Jacobites (he states that they own, as they do to this day, the House of St. Mark in the south-east quarter of Jerusalem), and that his "Jacobites or Golti" are the Copts. Of the Maronites he says that "these live not continually in the Temple of Mount Calvaria, but go often thither on Pilgrimages." In his careful account of the Holy Sepulchre Rauwolff places the Latins where they are at present, and the Orthodox in the Chorus Dominorum, also in Calvary,

(1) Vincent and Abel, *vol. cit.*, p. 294.

(2) Zuallardo, in 1587, speaks of an altar in the Holy Sepulchre used by "Goffiti Indiani." Can he be referring to the Church of Malabar, originally an offshoot of the Nestorian Church, but now in greater part in communion with the Jacobites?

(3) An English version of Rauwolff's work is included in John Ray, *A Collection of Curious Travels and Voyages*, London, 1693.

" which they forced from the Georgians, as they [*sc.* the Georgians] did before from the Armenians, by giving money to the Turks." The Copts have " the chapel behind the Sepulchre of Christ " ; the Abyssinians " live in the Temple of Mount Calvaria, just by the church door towards the left, and have through their Lodging a peculiar way, so that without hindrance, according to their pleasure, they may go in and out." The Georgians " are also possessed of their peculiar places, wherein they sing and exercise the Offices, and chiefly of one in the Church of Mount Calvaria, in the place near the Sepulchre of our Lord Christ, where He did first appear unto Mary Magdalen in the similitude of a Gardener, after His Resurrection." Of the Nestorians Rauwolff only says that " some of their Priests live upon the Mount Calvaria in the Temple," without specifying the precise locality.

The first half of the seventeenth century is mainly occupied by the struggle, which had now come to a head, between the Orthodox and the Latins for supremacy within the Holy Sepulchre. The former had as their spokesman in the capital the Œcumenical Patriarch, the latter were powerfully supported by successive French Ambassadors to the Porte. The battle raged most fiercely, with varying fortunes, during the years 1630–1637, Sultan Murad IV being then on the throne. In this brief period the right of pre-eminence (*prædominium*) in the Holy Places principally concerned, namely, the Holy Sepulchre, the Church of the Tomb of the Virgin near Gethsemane and the Basilica of the Nativity at Bethlehem, alternated no fewer than six times between the two protagonists (1). Finally, in October, 1637, Theophanes III, Patriarch of Jerusalem, obtained of the Sultan a Firman in favour of the Orthodox, and thereupon the dispute remained quiescent until it broke out with renewed violence at Easter, 1674. The English Ambassador to the Porte was then Sir John Finch, his French colleague the Marquis de Nointel ; but the lengthy negotiations now inaugurated with Sultan Mehmed IV, in which these diplomatists took a large share, left the matter, on the whole, *in statu quo ante* (2).

(1) These events are related, from somewhat different points of view, in Papadopoulos, *Ἱστορία τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Ἱεροσολύμων, Jerusalem*, 1910, ch. 7, and Golubovich, *I Frati Minori nel Possesso de' Luoghi Santi di Gerusalemme e i falsi Firmani posseduti dai Greco-Elleni*, Florence, 1921. The Latin position is also summarized in the same writer's *La Questione de' Luoghi Santi* (extracted from the *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, vol. xiv), pp. 6–9.

(2) *Cf.* Abbott, *Under the Turk in Constantinople*, London, 1920, pp. 116 *sqq.*

This century also saw the decline of some of the Eastern Churches in the Holy Sepulchre, the complete withdrawal of others. The Georgians, unable, owing to the exactions imposed by Persia on the Georgian Kingdom, to afford any longer the heavy dues demanded by the Turkish Government, retired from the church about 1644; a quarter of a century later the Abyssinians were forced to retreat to the roof of St. Helena's chapel, where they remain to the present day; we now hear no more of Nestorian participation in the fabric. Of the Maronite holdings we also hear no more: henceforth the Uniate Churches are represented in the Holy Sepulchre by the Latins.

In view of the outstanding position so long occupied by the Georgians in the Holy City, I may perhaps be permitted the following quotation from what I have written elsewhere (1): "An Armenian historian says of the Georgian Queen Tamara (reigned 1184–1212): 'Tamara made a treaty of peace with the Sultan of Damascus. . . . From that time the Sultan has treated the Christians more humanely . . . taxes on the monasteries are reduced . . . the pillage of pilgrims travelling to Jerusalem is forbidden, especially if they are Georgians. . . . They (*sc.* the Georgians) are free from taxation in the Empire of the Sultans and in Jerusalem, where Tamara was held in great esteem.' According to another Armenian chronicler 'only the Georgians had the right to enter Jerusalem with flying colours and without paying tribute. The Saracens dare not insult them.' Indeed, from the early days of Christianity the Georgians occupied a very special position in Jerusalem and the Holy Land. They ranked fourth in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, where they owned the Chapel of the Invention of the Cross, and at one time they possessed eleven religious establishments in and around the Holy City. Dositheus I, Patriarch of Jerusalem, a contemporary of Queen Tamara, wrote that 'the pious Kings of Iberia have always been the protectors of the Holy Sepulchre and other sacred sites.' In so late a period as the sixteenth century the Georgians enjoyed immunities conceded to no other Christians in Jerusalem;

(1) Luke, *Anatolica*, London, 1924, ch. 10. For the Georgians in Jerusalem, *cf.* also Tsagareli, *Pamyatniki Grusinskoi Starinui v Svyatoi Zemlje i na Sinaje*, in No. 10 of the Review of the Russian Orthodox Palestine Society (*Pravoslavnuii Palestinskii Sbornik*), Petrograd, 1888; extracts from Georgian codices in the Athonite monastery of Iveron, given by Themeles in *Ἑκατονταετηρὶς τοῦ Πανιεροῦ Ναοῦ τῆς Ἀναστάσεως*, *Jerusalem*, 1910, pp. 152–3; Williams, *The Holy City*, 2nd ed., vol. ii.; Dowling, *Sketches of Georgian Church History*, London, 1912.

and, had not their ancient autocephalous Church been absorbed by the Church of Russia when Russia absorbed Georgia, they would be there to this day. Their last possession, the Convent of the Holy Cross, the death-place of Rustaveli, lying in a shallow valley one and a half miles west of the city walls, is now the theological college of the Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem ; but Georgian inscriptions are still visible in fresco on the walls of the church."

Another Dutchman, the painter Cornelius van Bruyn (1), visiting Jerusalem in 1681, found that " in this Church of the holy Sepulcher there are always Nine Latin Priests, whose constant business it is to pray to God, and to take care of the holy Places. These are the Chief, and invested with the greatest Authority. Of the Greeks there are commonly seven ; of the Armenians five, and of the Coptes one. There is not a Person that resides there besides them. Formerly the Abyssines and Syrians were Resident (2). The Maronites come thither and join with the Latins in their publick Offices. The Latins are in possession of the greatest part of this Church : the Greeks have the Quire and the holy Sepulcher : the Armenians have in the Front of the Church a large Court, where they reside ; but the other Christians that are there are crouded into a small Apartment."

The situation at the close of the seventeenth century is described by the Reverend Henry Maundrell, who, as Chaplain to the Factory of the English Levant Company at Aleppo, visited Jerusalem in 1697, in the following words (3) : " In galleries round about the church, and also in little buildings annext to it on the outside, are certain apartments for the reception of friars and pilgrims ; and in these places almost every Christian nation anciently maintained a small society of monks, each society having its proper quarter assigned to it by the appointment of the Turks, such as the Latins, Greeks, Syrians, Armenians, Abyssinians, Georgians, Nestorians, Cophtites, Maronites, etc., all which had anciently their several apartments in the church ; but

(1) The English version was published as *A Voyage to the Levant*, London, 1702.

(2) Although the Abyssinians then resided on the roof of St. Helena's Chapel, van Bruyn evidently regards that locality as outside the Holy Sepulchre proper. The Jacobites, while maintaining their chapel at the western end of the Rotunda, which they have never ceased to hold, did not actually reside within the precincts, and are for this reason, presumably, omitted.

(3) *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem at Easter, 1697*, Oxford, 1703.

these have all, except four, forsaken their quarters, not being able to sustain the severe rents and extortions which their Turkish landlords impose upon them The Latins, Greeks, Armenians, and Cophtites keep their footing still ; but of these four the Cophtites have now only one poor representative of their nation left ; and the Armenians are run so much in debt that it is supposed they are hastening apace to follow the examples of their brethren, who have deserted before them."

Maundrell seems to have overlooked the Jacobites, and he says nothing of the Abyssinians on the roof of the Chapel of St. Helena ; otherwise his account may be regarded as reliable. The eighteenth century saw some improvement in the financial position of those whom he found tottering on the verge of bankruptcy, and since his day there have been no more withdrawals. Gradually, during the eighteenth century, the respective shares of the surviving communities became consolidated, and were not materially affected by the fire of 1808 and the subsequent reconstruction of the Rotunda.

The accompanying plan, No. 46, adapted by permission from that made by Dr. Schick in 1885 and amended by Dr. Mommert in 1898 for the German Palestine Society, shows the position of the several communities as now established under the *status quo*. It will not, of course, have been forgotten that it was an aspect of the question concerning the Holy Places which, by exacerbating the general Eastern Question, brought about the Crimean War. A settlement was reached in 1878 at the Congress of Berlin ; and Article LXII of the Treaty of Berlin reads as follows : " It is well understood that no alterations can be made in the *status quo* of the Holy Places." Thus it will readily be realized how the words *status quo* have assumed so tremendous a significance in matters affecting the Holy Sepulchre, for it is to them that appeal is made in all questions which still arise within those sacred and much contested walls.

In conclusion, it may be added that in 1885 the Orthodox Patriarch Nicodemus assigned to the Church of England, for the celebration of Anglican services, the Chapel of Abraham in the Convent of the same name, adjoining Golgotha on the south. This act of courtesy constitutes a privilege, not a right, and does not imply that the ownership of the chapel is vested in the Church of England.

H. C. Luke.

The Tiles of the Church of St. James of Jerusalem

By George Antonius

The Armenian Church of St. James prides itself on the possession of a set, unfortunately incomplete, of ceramic tiles of unusual interest. They are to be found, for the most part, in the Echmiadzin Chapel on the south side of the church, in two vertical rows facing each other, of which one adorns the northern and the other the southern walls of the chapel. A few more may be seen in a remote part of the convent, on the wall of a priest's cell, where they form a quaint dado beneath the window-sill. These tiles, of which there are thirty-seven altogether, are all that is left of a larger set of three hundred, originally brought to Jerusalem in the first quarter of the eighteenth century, by pious Armenians. They were votive offerings, as the inscriptions on some of them testify, which had been specially ordered and made in Kutahia for the decoration of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. But, for various reasons, this intention was never fulfilled ; the tiles were set up elsewhere. In course of time they were destroyed or scattered, and only thirty-seven remain.

Eight of these tiles are reproduced here (Nos. 47 to 54), by the courtesy of M. Christophe A. Nomico, whose learned monograph (1) throws fresh and interesting light on their origin and manufacture. They are of uniform size, namely, 7 by 7 inches, or rather they were, for some have had their edges worn away or have been truncated in the process of setting up. The pictures are in bright colours (green, yellow, and blue, and sometimes purple and red) on a background which is invariably white ; while the subjects are either scenes from the Old and New Testaments, or images of saints. They were manufactured in Kutahia, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, that is to say, at a time when the artistic traditions, if not the processes, of the great Anatolian and Syrian ceramists of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries had become virtually extinct and the art of the faience decorator was

(1) "Τὰ χριστιανικὰ κεραμουργήματα τοῦ Ἀρμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων," ed. Kasimatis, Alexandria, 1922.

in decadence. Hence the primitive designs, the crude ornamentation. Yet the pictures are not devoid of beauty. Though their perspective is rudimentary and the composition of their groups hardly more cunning than that of a conscientious child, the effect is one of peculiar charm and freshness. The tile representing our Lord's entry into Jerusalem (No. 49) is perhaps the most characteristic, both of the naïve conception of the artist and the fidelity with which he sought to reproduce every detail of the holy episode : the waving of palms and spreading of raiments, with an onlooker perched on a tree. Another, which represents the beheading of John the Baptist (No. 48), is interesting as showing, in the figure of Salome, distinct traces of Persian influence, with a distant echo of Chinese mannerisms.

For it must be remembered that when these tiles were manufactured, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the art of the Anatolian ceramist was well-nigh at its lowest ebb and was readily influenced by the more individual methods of his Persian neighbour. The decline began about the end of the sixteenth century at a time when a marked, though somewhat short-lived, revival of this and other arts was taking place in Persia. As time went on, the great traditions of the earlier centuries were forgotten and lost, and a new and inferior art arose, confined almost exclusively to Kutahia and to the fabrication of small objects, such as plates, cups, tiles, and egg-shaped ornaments. The artisans were Armenian Christians who could copy, albeit clumsily, the processes of their predecessors, but lacked their decorative genius. Moreover, they were gradually turning their art to new uses. Hitherto, they had worked exclusively for their Turkish masters whose houses and mosques they had adorned. But now the great age of building had passed, and they turned their attention to their own needs, to their houses and their churches. Christian decoration, however, involved saints with human figures, of which there were in Asia Minor no traditions to observe or models to copy. Hence the primitive designs, and the immature drawing, in these tiles which are a fair sample of the production of the period. Their manufacture shows that the ceramists of Kutahia could still imitate the processes of the sixteenth century, with a fair measure of success ; but the pictorial talent in them is rude and primitive, as of an art in its infancy.

It may not be out of place to say a word here about the possibilities

No. 47.

St. George and the Dragon.

No. 48.

Execution of John the Baptist.

No. 49.

Our Lord's entry into Jerusalem.

No. 50.

The Virgin and Child.

No. 51.

David playing on the Harp.

No. 52.

The Miracle of Lazarus.

No. 53.

The Descent from the Cross.

No. 54.

The Resurrection.

of a revival of the Anatolian ceramic art. Of late years there has been displayed a new activity in Kutahia and other centres in Asia Minor, which is taking the form of a striving after the forms and the designs of the sixteenth century. The Pro-Jerusalem Society have seen in this the seeds of a possible revival, and have established a workshop in Jerusalem, with an Armenian Christian artisan from Kutahia at its head, where experiments have been actively conducted during the last five years. The immediate object of these experiments is to produce the coloured tiles required for the repairs to the Dome of the Rock. But they have another end in view, which is to collaborate in the endeavour to revive the craft. The possibilities are immense, and it must be owned that whatever success may be achieved will be due, in the first place, to the humble artisans of Kutahia who have preserved and handed down all that was left of the processes of the "*belle époque*."

G. Antonius.

A Brief Description of the Work done by the Local Craftsmen at Government House

By C. R. Ashbee

One of the most interesting pieces of constructive work that was done during the first year of the Civil Administration, a direct outcome of the Pro-Jerusalem Society's activities and experiments, was the work of furnishing and decorating at Government House. It is interesting as showing what can be done in Palestine by Palestinians, and still more as showing the method and traditions of labour that have perforce to be followed, and the difficulties which have to be faced in the work of practical administration.

There were four rooms to decorate and furnish, some £E.3,000 to spend, and the question was, should this be done from England, by Maple or Waring, or some other firm, or could it be done in Jerusalem by local craftsmen? His Excellency the High Commissioner decided on the local venture, and put the work in my hands. The experiment was not purely æsthetic; it was also human. I think that all constructive ventures in the crafts have their human side, and may be submitted to a human as well as a merely æsthetic test; for it is a fact daily growing clearer to us that in these days of the industrial helot state, with its infinite subdivisions of mechanical labour, we often get better value for our money from work produced among groups of men working happily and humanly together, and conscious of their own personal creation, than from work produced in the impersonal factory.

In the Government House work we employed six main groups of craftsmen:

masons
ceramic painters and tile-makers
blacksmiths
cabinet-makers, carvers and upholsterers
weavers
glass-blowers

Including the subordinate crafts in each case, the machine-minders, the seamstresses, the journeymen and labourers, there were from forty to fifty craftsmen employed over a great many months. They were practically all Palestinian, and all the work was local with the exception of the silks, which I had woven in Cairo, and the carpets which I selected for the colour schemes I needed. The stone was local marble (Missi Yahudi) and sandstone, the clay was local clay, the cotton and wool, though imported, were made up at the Jerusalem looms, and the glass was from Hebron. Wood there was none in the country, so my selection was limited to such slight and carefully hidden stocks, Indian woods mainly, as had been left over from the wastage of the war.

The chief difficulty, and it is the difficulty familiar to every administrator in Palestine, was labour co-ordination. How were all these different races and religions, with their various traditions and customs, to be got to work together? In Jerusalem we had not only every variety of race and language as a natural condition, but on the top of it all the disorganization of the war, and the chronic confusion which industrialism has introduced into the crafts, a condition that is now rapidly disintegrating the traditional methods of the East, as it has long ago destroyed those of our western workshops.

But craftsmanship and the love of craftsmanship—the cunning of a man's own right hand—was found here to be, as so often before in human story, a great amalgam ; and it was interesting to observe how all these different work-people, Moslems, Christians, Jews ; English, French, German ; Greeks, Armenians, Syrians, Poles, and Russians, with no common language, and who when the machine-guns of the mandatory Power patrol the streets are ready to be at each others' throats, were working, jesting, and in the end banqueting harmoniously together. Of my four foremen, one talked Greek, Arabic, and French ; the second Arabic, French, and Armenian ; the third German and Arabic ; and the fourth Arabic and Turkish. Among the Jewish carvers, upholsterers, and seamstresses the languages were Yiddish, Polish, Russian, and there may have been a dash of classic Hebrew and American Bowery English. Whatever the æsthetic merits of the work may be which this polyglot community produced, it was an object-lesson in the futility of political methods as set beside the cohesive power of the arts and crafts when practised rather than talked about.

WORK DONE AT GOVERNMENT HOUSE, JERUSALEM

I give here three illustrations, one of the drawing-room (No. 55) and two of the dining-room (Nos. 56, 57). In the first will be seen some of the wood-work and the treatment of the walls, the hangings, and the inlaid and other furniture. The scheme was a greenish blue with purple and gold. In the latter the effect was got by following the blue turquoise and green pattern work designs of certain traditional sixteenth-century colour schemes in the Dome of the Rock. In the rendering of these schemes the Kutahia workmen are masters.

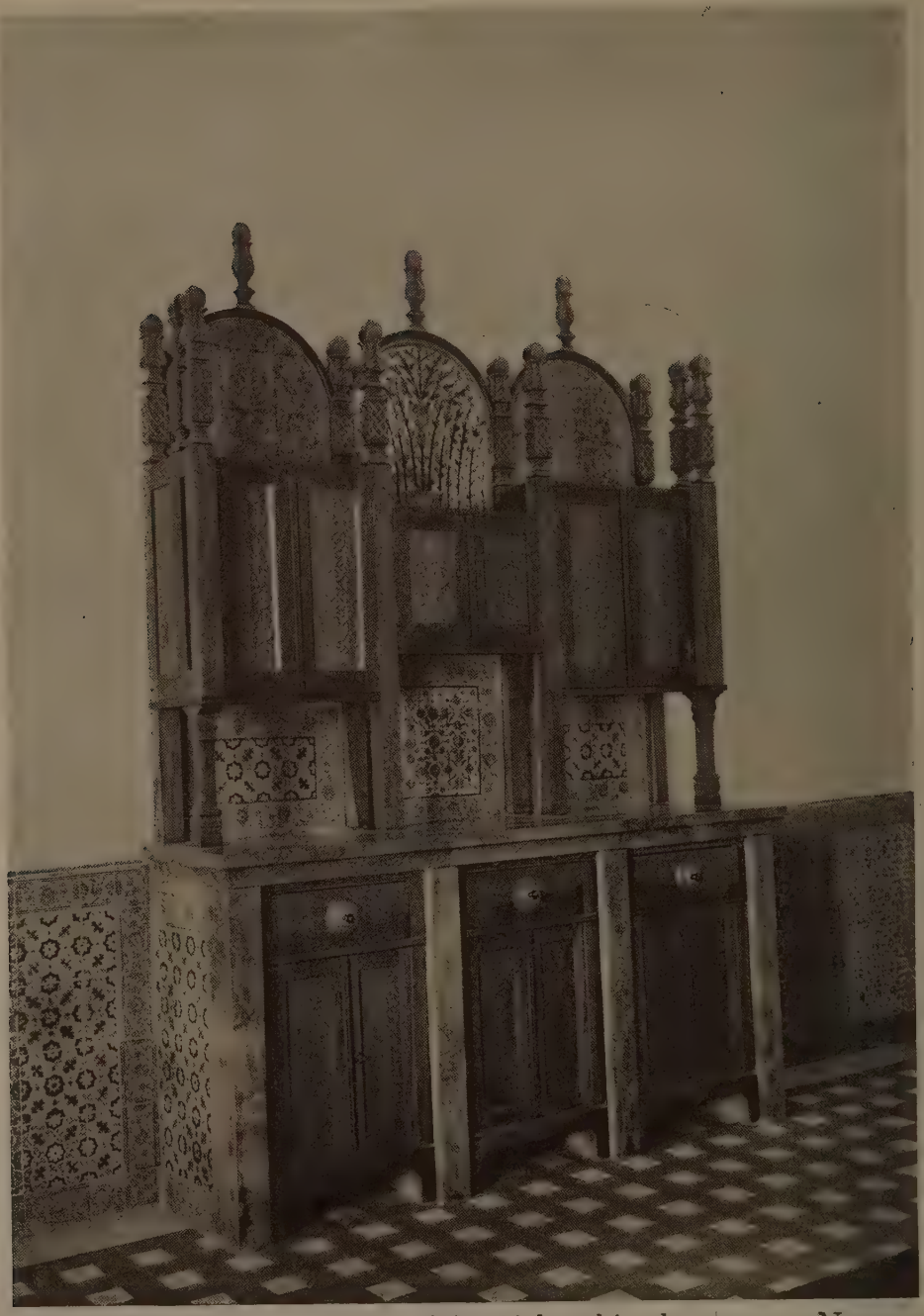
My plan for the completion of the dining-room some day is to carry the rich blue panelling and tile work up to the curve of the dome, on the wall opposite the large window. This will give their full value to the golden "*atlas*" hangings, and to the sideboard with its peachblossom marble and its carved and gilded Indian woods (No. 57).

Two other rooms were worked out, the Library in a scheme of grey and raisin-coloured silks, and Lady Samuel's boudoir in white with dark indigo and red striped Bethlehem hangings. In the details of the design I worked to no style, but tried to make things that should first serve their needs and then have about them something of the character of the country. There are many essentially Syrian forms, such as the twisted cord, the corded hoop, and similar simple patterns and mouldings that are Byzantine or Arabic in character and go well in local stone and wood.

The electroliers were made of Hebron glass in great pendant clusters of blue and white mosque lamps and hanging bead work. One hopes that this method of light, which will always need some sort of shell or screen around the glass bulb, may help revive a beautiful if unhappy craft that has fallen on such evil days. The Pro-Jerusalem Society was just engaged in its Hebron glass experiments, so a special furnace was constructed below the Via Dolorosa at the new tile works of the Dome of Rock pottery. And during the making of this glass a curious and significant thing happened. It was of the utmost importance that the work should be done by a certain date, but nothing could move the old Moslem craftsmen. They would conform to no time conditions I desired to impose. And why? Because their craft of glass-blowing was implicit with the seasons of Palestinian agriculture. "If," said they, "the High Commissioner desired their glass he must first wait till the tomato crop was harvested." And wait we had to. "Why should these things be hurried?" said the old Moslem crafts-

Government House, Jerusalem. The Drawing-room. *No.* 55.

Government House, Jerusalem. The Dining-room. *No.* 56.



Government House, Jerusalem. The sideboard in the Dining-room, designed by C. R. Ashbee. No. 57.

men. "You cannot hurry the seasons. God's blessing rests on those who observe His ways and do not hustle. Hustling is a western disease and connotes factories, and mechanical transport and faithlessness, with other evils that are coming upon this land. But Allah is merciful!" There is a slender hope He yet may grant His blessing. Every evening after the last form was drawn from the fire the old glass-worker spread his prayer-mat out beside his furnace, and he and his two assistants would ask that blessing on their work.

C. R. Ashbee.

Jerusalem, July 1922.

An Account of the New Jewish Garden Cities, etc., and the Modifications they entail in the Town Plan

By C. R. Ashbee

Among the most interesting developments in the modern constructive work of Jerusalem are the various plans and proposals for building upon which different Jewish groups are engaged under the auspices, for the most part, of the Palestine Land Development Company.

I am indebted for the information here following partly to Dr. Ruppin, the chairman of the company, with whom it was my privilege to serve for many months upon the Central Town Planning Commission, and partly to the architect of the company, Mr. Kauffmann, many of whose plans I am showing here, and all of which had to come before me in my capacity as Civic Adviser and Secretary of the Jerusalem Town Planning Commission. In several instances it has been my business to modify and to co-ordinate.

If reference be made again to the key plan No. 34 on page 17 it will be seen how these specifically Jewish schemes are being linked on to the general town planning of the city. There are five so far, and I would say a word or two as to each: Antiochus, Talpioth, Janjirieh, Boneh Bayit, and Antimus Porah. With the exception of Antiochus, which is in Part I of the Plan, they occupy the parts to the south and west of the city.

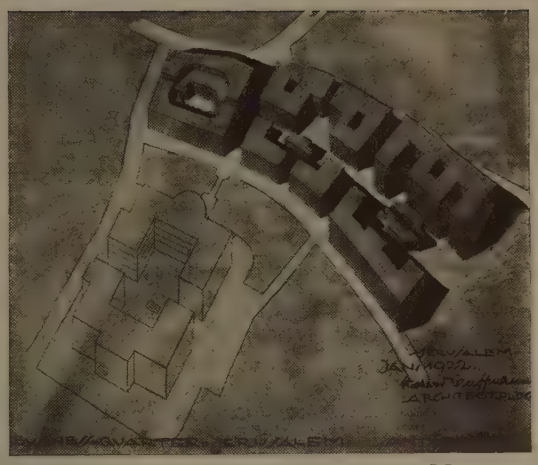
ANTIOCHUS

The decision to sell some of the lands of the Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem brought into the market the land at the corner of the Mamilla Cemetery (see No. 41 on page 23).

An important road improvement was carried out at this point, on a very uneasy corner in between two rather steep slopes, and the higher portion of the land to the south-west of the new road had

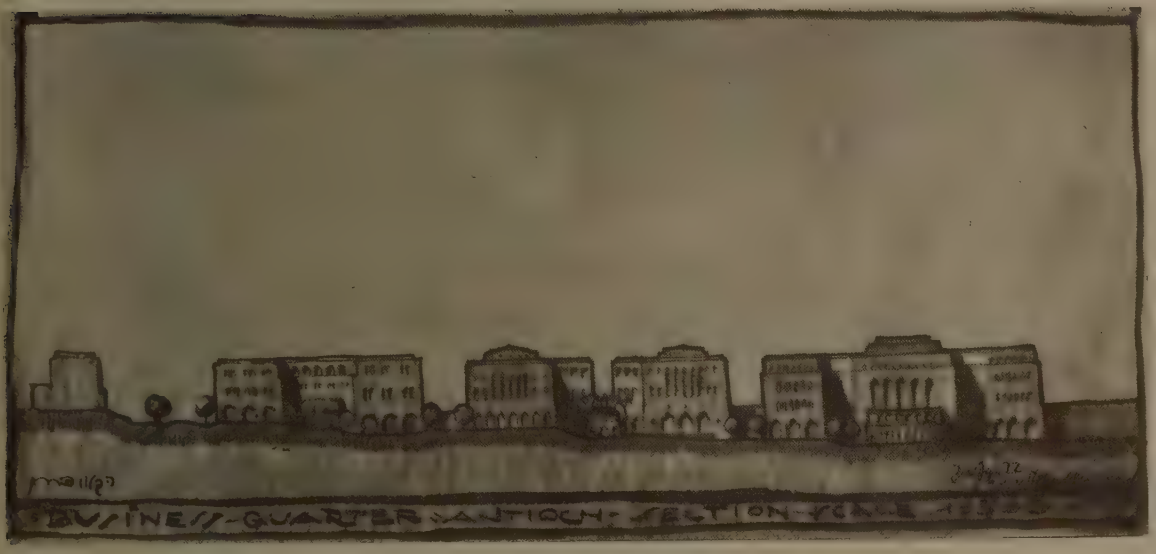
No. 58.

Block plan of Antiochus



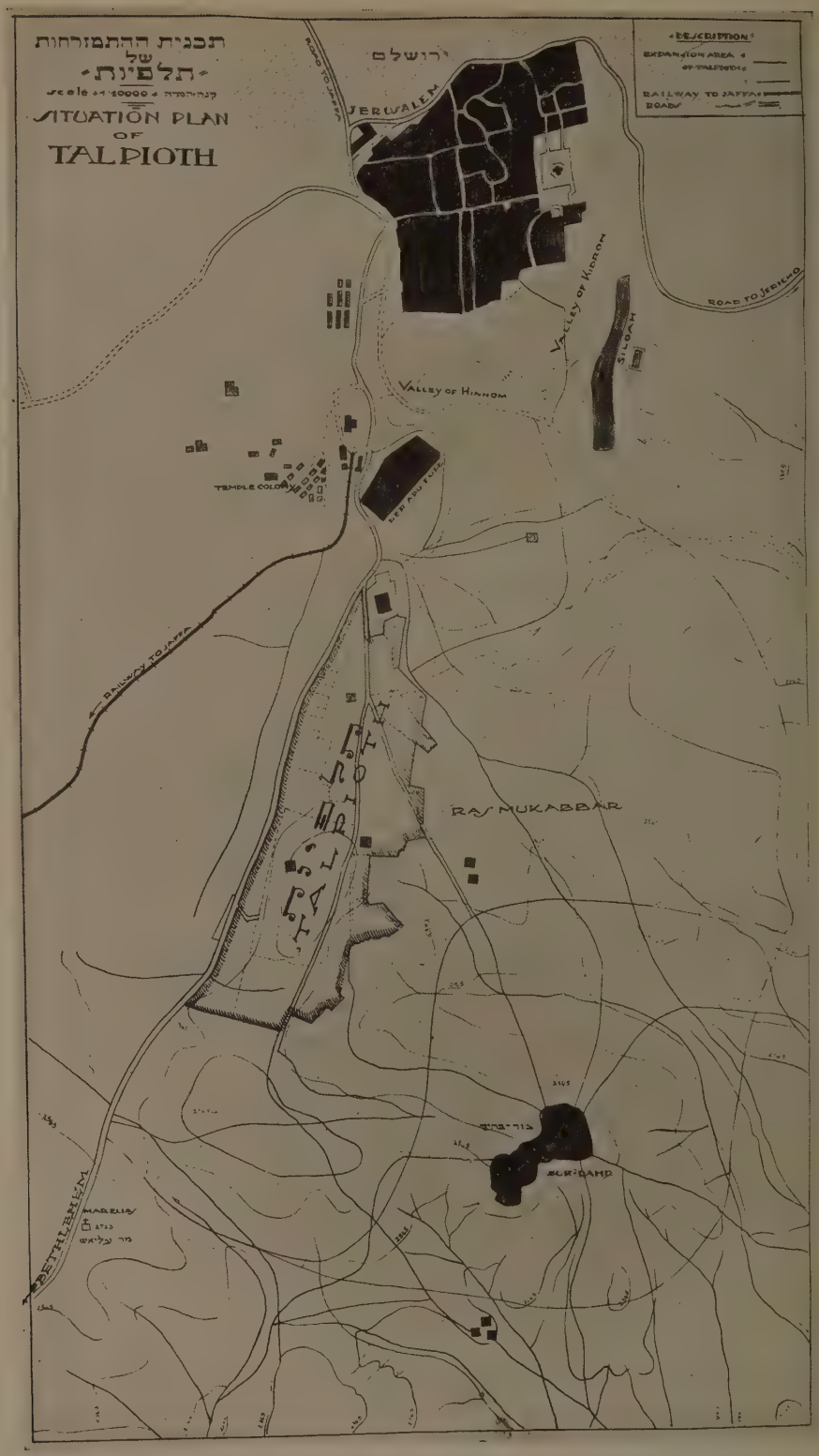
No. 59.

Model of block plan of Antiochus, with British Government's plot shown in outline.



Elevation of block plan. Antiochus.

No. 60.

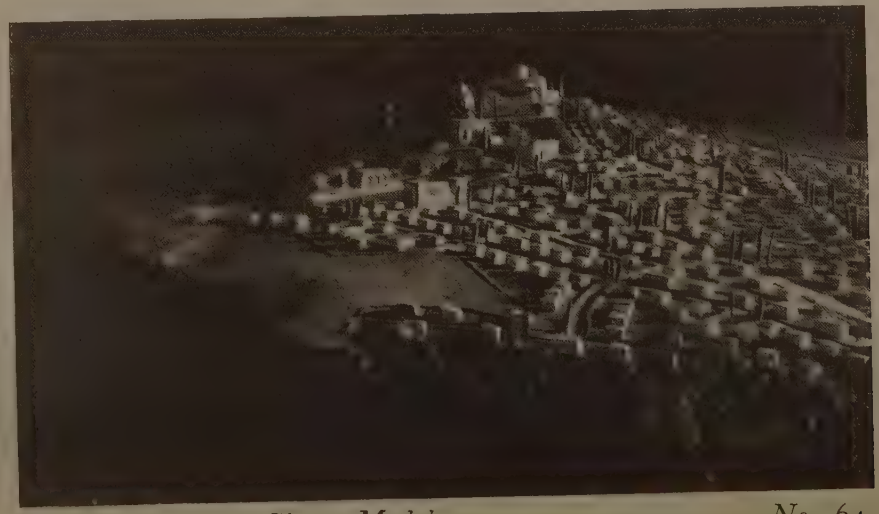


Talpioth Garden City. Block plan. *No.* 61.

Talpioth Garden City. Contour plan.

No. 62.

Talpioth Garden City. Model. *No.* 63.



Talpioth Garden City. Model. *No.* 64.

already been given by the Greek Patriarch, to the Turkish Administration, for a public building. This plot is shown at the top of plan No. 41, as " B. Government's plot," and the suggested building upon it is indicated in outline in No. 59. The new plans for Antiochus had therefore to take these two facts into consideration. It will be seen in the architect's block plan No. 58 and the photograph of his model No. 59 that this proposed public building must in the future determine the axis of the new Ridge Road ; also the new corner of the road from the Post Office to the railway station has been a dominating feature. But even more important has been the linking up of the Antiochus group with the Ridge Road, and the plans shown here should be compared with that on p. 23. When the new town plan for this area was under consideration a co-ordination was envisaged of the following: the Jaffa Gate improvement scheme (see No. 40), the opening out in front of the Jaffa Gate, including the new market, the park reservation in the valley of Mes, and the proposed new hotel in the Ard es Sillam (see No. 41).

The accommodation which the present Antiochus scheme provides, and some of which is shown on the plan, is as follows: on a total new area of 19,270 square pics, approximately 200 shops. About 50 of these are small bazaars. There are further four buildings for banks, each building site being 1,000 square metres, and there are offices and ware houses. The elevation No. 60 is shown through the proposed Sûq and shop buildings.

THE TALPIOTH GARDEN CITY

The proposed suburb lies to the south of Jerusalem beyond the station, and the key plan on p. 17 already referred to shows it as No. VI. The plan No. 61 explains the relation of the site to the Holy City, to the Bethlehem road, the railway station, and the monastery of Mar Elias. The proposed garden city is to be on high ground ; a part of it at one time was the landing station for aeroplanes. The photographs of the architect's contour plan and models Nos. 62, 63, 64, give an idea of the disposition.

The total area is given as 1,859,544 square pics, or 1,068,650 square metres, from which have to be deducted the area for roads.

THE NEW JEWISH GARDEN CITIES

The accommodation proposed is as follows, and this should be studied on the plan No. 62, upon which also the contours are shown.

Private plots with houses : ca. 800.
Town Hall.
Hotel.
Baths.
Post Office.
Co-operative distributive store for food-stuffs.
Theatre.
Academy.
Synagogue.
Hospital.

The area allowed for parks and plantations is given as 160,892 square pics (92,450 square metres), and for the sporting ground 21,936 square pics (12,600 square metres), making a total area for public open space reservation of 28,873 square pics (16,550 square metres), and a net area for plots of 1,294,658 square pics (801,488 square metres).

An extract from Mr. Kauffmann's explanatory Report is worth quoting, and in the language of the Report. It should be read in conjunction with the drawings. "Die natürliche form Talpioth's bedingt seine städtbauliche Gestaltung. Die Kuppe des ovalen Berges wird bekrönt von weiten und grossartig gedachten Monumentalbauten. Hier in diesem kulminationspunkt des Ganzen sei praktisch und ideell alles zusammengefasst, was eine grosse Menschensiedelung gemeinsam haben und Krönen soll."

The planning and the dream are symbolic of Zionist activities, and it is interesting to note how these are already modifying the town plan of Jerusalem. That it will all materialize as set forth in Mr. Kauffmann's Report and drawings is improbable, but one must admire the enthusiasm and the hope.

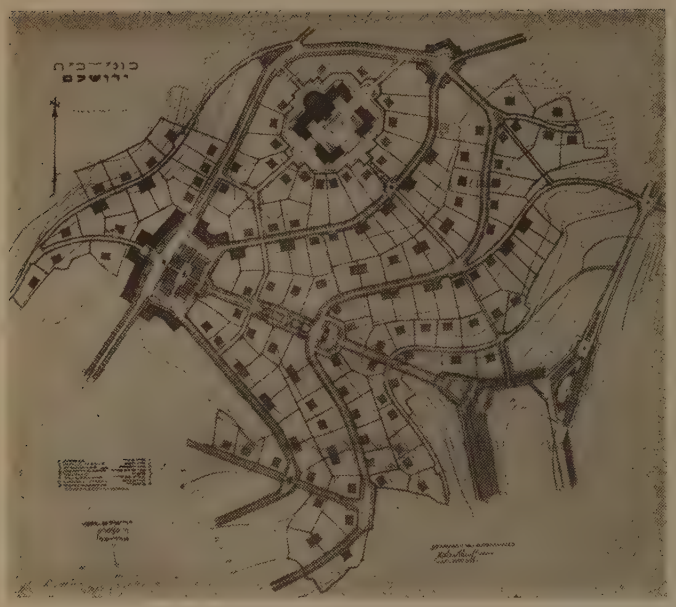
THE JANJIRIEH GARDEN CITY

This is a less ambitious undertaking (see No. 65), and one that will more readily come together with the English, Greek, and Moslem building projects in this, the south-western area of the city, in which one of the principal building developments is to be anticipated.

The total area is 212,000 square pics (about 120,000 square

Janjirieh Garden City. Block plan. *No.* 65.

The Proposed Synagogue. *No.* 66.
Janjirieh Garden City.



No. 67.

Boneh Bayit Garden City. Key plan.

No. 68.

Antimus Porah in the Jaffa Road. Block plan.

Boneh Bayit Garden City. Model. No. 69.

metres), net 163,000 pics (about 94,000 square metres); there are 114 plots reserved for private building, besides plots for business premises, a Hebrew high school, a synagogue, etc. The plan should be carefully studied, it explains itself, and the contours are shown. The architect contributes with the above figures a sketch of the synagogue which it is proposed to erect upon the high land to the north of the site (No. 66).

THE BONEH BAYIT (GARDEN CITY) (NOW "BETH-HAKEREM")

The last of the proposed Jewish enterprises which has so far been incorporated into the Jerusalem town plan is the garden city planned on the road to Ain Karem; it is No. VIII on the key plan on page 17. It covers approximately 280 dunems of land. The contours on the plan are characteristic of Judæan landscape and well worth noting (No. 67), as also the manner in which the architect has handled them. See in this connection the photograph of the model (No. 69). The accommodation provided is as follows

School.
Public hall.
Synagogue.
Sports ground.
Play-ground.
Co-operative distributive stores.

Twenty-four per cent. of the total area is devoted to roads, open spaces, green belt area, and public building, and there are 148 separate lots, of which 29 are 1 dunem in area and 119 two dunem.

ANTIMUS PORAH IN THE JAFFA ROAD

One other minor Jewish enterprise is worth noting in so far as it affects the modification of the town plan; it is the treatment of the piece of land skirting the Jaffa road from the point where at present the cinema stands, northwards through the old sports ground and westwards towards Tabitha Cumi. The architect's block plan is given (No. 68).

C. R. Ashbee.

Jerusalem, August 1922.

A Provisional Bibliography of the Moslem Architecture of Syria and Palestine

By K. A. C. Creswell, M.R.A.S., Hon. A.R.I.B.A.

A Provisional Bibliography of the Moslem Architecture of Syria and Palestine

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FOREWORD

The following bibliography forms one section of a *Bibliography of the Architecture, Arts, and Crafts of Islam*, the completion of which was stopped by the war. In its present state it consists of about 4,700 different entries under "Authors," and about 6,700 under "Subjects." It is not possible to publish it now in the form of a book, and I am accordingly endeavouring to publish sections of it as opportunity offers. The section on the Moslem Architecture of India has already appeared in the *Indian Antiquary*, May and September 1922. I may add that I have personally seen and examined every item in the following list (except those marked *), either in the libraries of the British Museum, the India Office, the Royal Asiatic Society, the Royal Institute of British Architects, the Art Library at South Kensington or elsewhere. I shall be extremely grateful to those readers who are kind enough to notify me of omissions.

Arrangement:

I. Guide-books.
II. General Works.
III. For Jerusalem only.
IV. For Qusair 'Amra only.
V. For the Palace of Mshattâ only.

I. GUIDE-BOOKS

A Guide-book to Central Palestine, Samaria and Southern Galilee, including Nablus, Arsuf, Haifa, Acre, Nazareth, Tiberias and their Districts, with Historical Appendix and four Maps. Based upon the well-known enemy publication Baedeker's Palestine & Syria, and augmented by numerous additions. Sm. 8vo, pp. 111.

"The Palestine News," Jerusalem, 1918.

Palestine Pocket Guide-books (vol. II).

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Stanford, London, 1903.

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Macmillan, London, 1910.

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See also: Lt. Conder's Report, *ibid.*, 1873, p. 154, and Tyrwhitt Drake's Report, *ibid.*, 1874, pp. 65–6.

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See also *ibid.*, tome iv, pp. 283–287. On fresh evidence he attributes the inscription to el-Ḥâkim.
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Communication on the above from E. C. Robins, F.S.A., ibid., pp. 231–232.

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Contents: Kuṣejr 'Amra. Von Alois Musil. Architektonische Beschaffenheit des Baues. Von Max Kropf. Die Aufnahme der Malereien. Von A. L. Mielich. Die chemische Analyse der Farben. Von J. Pollak und F. Wenzel. Der Stil der Malereien. Von Franz Wiekhoff. Erklärung der Tafeln. Von Franz Wiekhoff. Datierung und Bestimmung des Baues. Von Josef von Karabaček.

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See also above: Fergusson, *History* (3rd ed.), i, p. 407, and figs. 470–471; Musil, *Arabia Petræa*, i, pp. 196–203 and Abb. 83–92; and his *Kuṣejr 'Amra*, pp. 14–15 and figs. 6–10; Brünnow and Domaszewski, *Die Provincia Arabia*, ii, pp. 105–176, figs. 686–754, and Tafeln xlv–xlviii; also pp. 308–311 (for a review of the work of Schulz and Strzygowski); van Berchem, in the *J. des Savants*, 1909, pp. 293–309; Baedeker, *Syria*, p. 149; Diez, *Kunst der islamischen Völker*, pp. 29–33; Taf. i, and Abb. 31–33 (assigns it to Yazīd II, A.D. 720–724); Herzfeld, *Mshattâ, Hîra und Bâdiya*, pp. 84–105 and 133–146, and Taf. i (assigns it to Walid II, 126 H. = 743–744); and Lammens, *La Syrie*, i, pp. 96–98 (assigns it also to Walid II, A.D. 743–744).

APPENDIX I.

TABLE OF TREES PLANTED IN THE JERUSALEM STREETS AND GARDENS DURING THE SEASON 1921–22. THE TABLE FOLLOWS THE ORDER OF THE PRECEDING YEAR

SPECIES.	Citadel Gardens.	Citadel to Beledieh.	Post Office Square.	Post Office to Municipal Garden.	Municipal Garden to Feingold's.	Feingold's to end of Jaffa Road.	Armenian Convent land (a) upper part.	Armenian Convent land (b) lower part.	Outside Muscovia.	By Italian Hospital.	By Herod's Gate.	Raschidieh School Garden.	Outside Raschidieh School.	Mauristan.	Muslim Cemetery (Raschidieh).	Muslim Cemetery (towards station).	Roads round Macrae Estate.	Abu Libya Garden.	Al Asali Open Garden.	Way-Y-Joz (C. R. Ashbee).	American Colony.	Nebi Samuel (Sheikh).	Outside Police Station and by water standard.	Beledieh to Cemetery.	Damascus Gate.
Cypress ..	175	1	8	1	—	14	1	—	9	15	—	28	2	—	52	—	—	3	—	7	35	—	—	—	1
Almond ..	21	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Eilanthus ..	12	—	1	—	—	5	—	—	—	2	6	—	—	—	7	—	—	14	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
Olive ..	43	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	20	—	3	—	—	—	—	—
Eucalyptus	15	3	14	9	32	37	20	13	—	—	—	16	28	3	14	—	—	10	4	2	8	15	7	—	27
Pepper ..	30	—	—	—	2	—	15	11	—	2	22	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Acacia ..	132	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	16	—	—	—	—
Quince ..	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
Casuarina ..	141	4	—	10	27	22	22	9	—	2	7	12	17	—	—	—	—	58	—	—	2	—	—	25	—
Brachychiton	30	—	2	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	15	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Poplar ..	7	—	—	—	17	7	15	5	—	14	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Pinus ..	7	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	31	—	—	—	—	—	4	—	1	—	—	—	—	7
Nut ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Medlar ..	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Apple ..	3	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Fig ..	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bougainvilia	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Pear ..	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Cherry ..	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Laurel ..	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Myrtle ..	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Oleander ..	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Giant broom	—	—	—	5	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Trumpet-tree	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	—	—	—	—	—
Jacaranda	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
Pomegranate	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Carob ..	225	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Miscellaneous	35	1	4	1	1	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	6	—
Trees counted	918	9	39	26	81	91	73	38	9	42	35	87	47	3	88	—	—	144	4	20	61	15	7	31	35
Failures ..	20	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	12	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	4

The foreman, Yudá Selenfreund's figures at stock-taking of June 1922:

In the nursery	3,426
In the sanatorium	228
In gifts	185
In young trees planted in nursery section ..	948
	4,787
Dead in nursery	135

APPENDIX II.

LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS RECEIVED BETWEEN DECEMBER 30, 1921, AND JULY 1, 1922

	£E.
Vaughan Morgan, Esq.	1.940
Miss Mabel C. Hopkins	480
F. A. White, Esq.	5.090
Sir Alfred Mond	24.250
Anglo-Egyptian Bank	100.000
Mr. Garabed Melkonian	100.000
National Bank of Egypt	97.500
John H. Finley	13.430
Max Mouchly	5.000
Crédit Lyonnais	10.000
Mrs. Tod Osbourne	1.940
Princess Edmond de Polignac	29.090
Sir Hugh Bell	9.540
The Khangi Karbari of Baroda	25.000
Mrs. Clowes	9.540
Wolf Papenheim	5.000
Herbert Krustal	5.000
Banco di Roma	25.000
Anonymous (per H. E.)	50.000
Herbert Bentwich	2.046
J. A. de Rothschild	48.750
H. C. Luke, Esq.	1.000
Anglo-Palestine Bank	25.000
Arthur Franklin, Esq.	29.100
Hon. Stanley Fisher	1.000
V. Harari Pasha	25.000
Baron Félix de Menasce	25.000
Carried forward	674.696

	£E.
Brought forward	674.696
Mr. Justice Isaac A. Isaac	24.250
Frederic Wenham Morton & Co.	5.000
Mr. and Mrs. H. B. Abdy	4.805
Sir Stuart Samuel, Bart.	30.000
Imperial Ottoman Bank	50.000
Prof. Michael E. Sadler	1.000
Miss Sampter	5.000
Prof. Garstang, British School of Archæology	30.000
N. Nahoum	200.000
N. Nahoum	15.000
S. Goldstein	50.000
S. Goldstein	5.000
J. Eisenberg	3.000
J. B. Barron, Esq.	5.500
H.E. Sir Herbert Samuel	20.000
Sir Thos. Haycraft	5.000
Lionel Cust, Esq.	4.850
G. Antonius	2.050
Mr. Henry Friend	5.000
H.E. the Latin Patriarch	5.000
Mrs. Clowes	14.550
E. T. Richmond, Esq	2.047
Dr. Reynolds	5.000
Arthur E. Franklin, Esq.	50.000
Nevill Forbes, Esq.	2.000
Total	1,218.748

APPENDIX III.

MONTHLY ANALYSIS OF EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 1921

1921.	Annales and Records.	Street Naming.	Exhibition Expenses.	Post Office Square.	Hebron Glass.	Citadel Repairs.	Sûq Kattanin.	Abou Lihya Play-ground.	City Tree Planting.	Citadel Gardens.	Rampart Walk.	Technical Education.	Salaries and Wages.	Miscel-laneous.
January ..	6.320		92.000			188.760			38.835	9.340	24.320	14.940	75.866	33.679
February..		6.000				25.000 41.000			14.630	20.000 14.340	72.600	119.250		
March ..			5.210			25.000 55.000 65.750			95.295	14.100	162.500	32.510	76.666	11.000 13.420
April ..			86.330			17.500 53.300			65.990	5.000 55.550	168.610	141.200	161.666	13.460 330
May ..			77.300			3.340			13.830	8.120		113.810	13.000	4.190
June ..			34.405	1.570				2.250	21.330	12.020		8.500	133.332 16.000	
July ..			6.000	1.130				1,560	36.360	13.670	45.300	62.500 233.750	50.000 74.416	16.790
August ..				2.940	15.000	3.000		3.900	36.400	8.330	95.000	5.000	81.666	
September				1.020	34.540	8.000	3.000	12.420	27.060	7.730	200.875	75.000	79.666	
October ..						30.000	72.630	1.400	18.185	9.970	60.000	10.040	208.883	2.700
November									19.950	11.840	50.000	252.780	79.666	5.770
December	346,730							500	27.370	5.910	99.500	10.300	142.166	
	353.050	6.000	301.245	6.660	49.540	515.650	75.630	22.030	415.235	195.920	978,705	1079.580	1192.993	101.339

Appendix IV.

THE PRO-JERUSALEM SOCIETY

List of Subscribers

Mr. and Mrs. B. Abdy
The Reverend Père Abel, O.P.
The American Colony Stores
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The Anglo-American Society
The Anglo-Egyptian Bank
The Anglo-Palestine Bank
Department of Antiquities, Palestine
Mr. G. Antonius
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Mr. Adam Atkinson
The late Sir Abbas Eff. Abd-el-Baha

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Sir H. Cohen
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The Council of Sephardic Jews
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